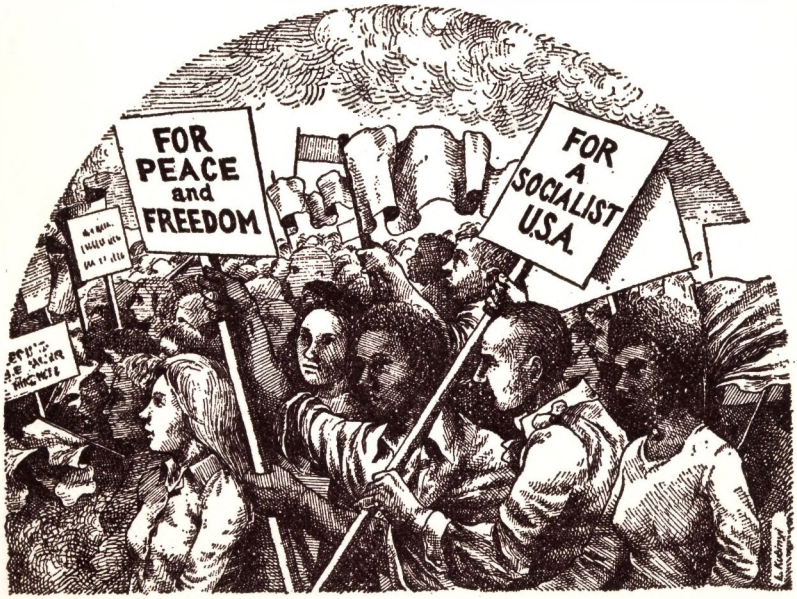
NEW PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY U.S.A.



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New Program of the Communist Party U.S.A.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
INTRODUCTION	7
I. THE UNITED STATES: A SOCIETY IN CRISIS	9
U.S. Capitalism	10
The Reign of Monopoly	15
The Crisis of U.S. Society	22
II. THE WORLD SETTING	26
The World Balance of Forces	26
The "American Century"—A Vain Dream	29
The Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism	31
"Anti-Communism' and Chauvinism—Designs for Catastrophe	33
The Revolutionary Process	34
The Fight for Peace	36
III. THE FORCES OF PROGRESS	39
The Spirit of Rebellion	39
The Working Class	42
The Black Liberation Movement	54
Chicano Liberation	64
Puerto Rican Liberation	67
Indian Liberation	68
The Jewish People	70
The Fight Against Racism	71
Allies Against Monopoly	73
IV. THE PATH AHEAD	81
The Face of the Enemy	81
Toward a New People's Party	83
Radical Reform	85

Reform and Revolution 87
The Socialist Path 91

V. THE SOCIALIST GOAL 96
The Nature of Socialist Society 96
Socialism and Communism 104
Socialism Works 105
What Socialism Can Do 107

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY 112
Marxism-Leninism 112
The Communist Party of the United States 115

VII. OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHERS 120
Guiding Principles 120
Communists and the Left 121
Communism and Religion 124
World Relations 126

AN INVITATION 129

INTRODUCTION

Wherever one looks, there is struggle in the United States today. People are on the march. More and more are engaged in struggles for peace, for black and brown liberation, for economic advancement. More and more are seeking fundamental solutions. There is radicalization. There is a growing political Left.

Millions are turning against the stale slanders of anti-Communism, used for so long to stifle people's struggles. These millions want to know what this is all about. They are interested in the views of the Communist Party of the United States, which for fifty years has been a current in our country's political life and a significant organizer and participant in people's struggles.

Like other Americans, we Communists take pride in the genius and skill of our country's workers, farmers and scientists, who have created the world's most productive industry, the most bountiful agriculture. We take pride in our nation's democratic and revolutionary heritage, created by the struggles of our people.

The country our people have built provides the means for a good and abundant life. Yet tens of millions live in misery. Why? Tens of millions suffer bitter racial oppression. Why? Masses of working people are afflicted by growing economic insecurity. Why? Wars and the danger of mass annihilation hang over everybody. Why?

This glaring contradiction between the possible and the actual is not an accident. It is not due to the faults of this or that politician. It is inherent in an economic system which divides the people into haves and have-nots, a system in which private profit is the driving force of the class that dominates this country.

The United States is ripe for basic social change. The goal of the Communist Party is to help our people bring about that change and to make it stick—to wipe out poverty, racism and war by destroying the monster which nurtures them. In this Program we will show that this monster is capitalism, and that its replacement by socialism represents the only fundamental solution to the critical problems the American people now face.

It is fitting that our Program appears as we approach the 200th anniversary of the birth of our country in the Revolutionary War, at a time when the question of social revolution once again arises in new times and new forms.

We invite you to read our Program. We hope you will find yourself in agreement with its basic ideas.

I. THE UNITED STATES: A SOCIETY IN CRISIS

A Society in Decay

Our society has been widely proclaimed the society of affluence —the shining example of what capitalism can accomplish. But beneath the symbols of affluence, beneath the glitter of polished chrome and the outlines of television antennas, lie the symptoms of crisis, of growing corruption and decay. Ours is a sick society, and its sickness pervades every aspect of its being.

Endowed with a continent rich in natural resources, our rising technological capacity enables us to produce an abundance of material blessings of life for all. Instead, there is mounting economic insecurity, persistent unemployment and poverty for millions. Hunger and starvation are all too common.

The high-sounding, hypocritical pretensions to democracy and the leadership of a "free world" cloak the brutal racist oppression of 35 million Black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican and Indian people within the United States.

Oppression and violence assume monstrous proportions. Assassinations of public figures have become commonplace, as have murders, bombings and burnings by the hoodlums of the racist ultra-Right. Unbridled police brutality and killing prevail; social protest and rebellion are met with armed force; mass killing is practiced against oppressed minorities.

The rulers of our country wage wars of mass atrocity, as in Vietnam. They intervene with armed force, CIA plots and other means to destroy freedom everywhere for the superprofits of the giant U.S. trusts.

Our economy is one of enormous waste. One-tenth of our entire national product goes down the rathole of military spending while public services and social welfare needs go increasingly unmet and masses of people go hungry.

For the sake of corporate profits our air and water are in-

creasingly polluted and our food contaminated.

Monopoly capital seeks to prostitute and degrade science and culture, to sacrifice them to war-making and the relentless drive for profit. The vicious ideology of racism, fostered in every conceivable way by the big monopolies which profit from it, debases white Americans. On all sides the American people are subjected to dehumanization, to undermining of moral and ethical standards.

On these and many other counts our capitalist society stands indicted.

We shall show that socialism can replace this outmoded system with a society in which freedom, culture and beauty exist for all, in which there is no poverty, no war, no racism. We shall show that socialism is the way to a future in which man's scientific genius and technical skills, his knowledge and his creative imagination will be used to realize the potential for an abundant, creative, rewarding life for everyone.

U.S. Capitalism

Ours is the leading land of capitalism. Technologically ours is by far the most advanced of all capitalist countries. Here industrial production is concentrated in the greatest degree in huge plants equipped with the most modern machinery, each employing thousands and tens of thousands of workers. Here mass production, highly organized and coordinated, with a high degree of division of labor and cooperation, has attained the most advanced development among capitalist countries. As technology progresses, this socialized character of production grows and increasingly permeates all branches of industry and commerce. With it grows the productivity of human labor.

A System of Exploitation

However, the ownership of this colossal productive apparatus, on which the life of the entire nation depends, rests in private hands—in the hands of a small and shrinking group of ever more wealthy and powerful capitalists motivated solely by the drive for

ever greater private profit. Facing them are the millions who work on the job, the mass of workers whose labor is the source of all material values produced.

These own no means of production, no source of income beyond their own capacity to work—their labor power. This they must sell to the capitalists in order to live.

The capitalist employs the wage worker only so long as his labor produces profits. The worker must turn out products whose value includes not only his wages but also an additional amount which goes to the capitalist. This unpaid labor of the wage worker is the basic source of capitalist profit. Workers, who sell their labor power for wages, and capitalists who buy labor power for the profit they can extract from it, are the two basic economic classes in our society—the exploited and the exploiters.

In the United States today this class division is extremely sharp. Some 500 giant corporations control the national economy. And some 5,000 corporate directors are the country's economic rulers. On the other side, more than four-fifths of all who are gainfully employed work for wages or salaries. In short, a wealthy handful exploits the vast majority of the 200 million Americans.

The two classes are in unending and irreconcilable conflict because their fundamental interests clash. The capitalist drive for profits leads inevitably to a never-ending drive to force down wages and other costs of production. It leads also to transforming the worker to a mere appendage to an ever more monstrous productive apparatus. Against these drives the working class is compelled to engage in ceaseless struggle.

This is the class struggle. It is an uphill battle. Far from leading an easy affluent life, workers in the U.S. are subjected to ever more intensive exploitation. In no other country are workers subjected to the killing speedup, physical maiming and industrial deaths which prevail in the United States. Every year some 15,000 workers are killed on the job, well over 2 million are maimed or disabled, and 200,000 are crippled by job-related diseases. These are casualties in the class war. And despite higher wages, won through hard struggles and strikes, workers get a decreasing share of their product. In manufacturing real earnings per unit of output fell ten per cent

in the last decade alone.

What the Labor Department calls a "moderate" budget for an urban family of four came to $10,300 in 1969. The annual earnings of production workers in manufacturing—among the better-paid workers—were one-third *below* this figure. To come anywhere near this standard, therefore the average worker must have either a second job or a second breadwinner in the family. Or he must, as most workers do, go increasingly into debt.

Such are the harsh realities of life for the great mass of workers in our "affluent" society.

Further, under capitalism the constant introduction of new, more efficient machinery is designed solely to grind out greater profits. Therefore it leads not to a corresponding rise in the economic welfare of the workers but to growing displacement from jobs. New jobs are not created fast enough to take care of the growth in the labor force and those being displaced by automation. Hence there is greater insecurity for all workers. With this the struggle between the classes sharpens. And with this the gap grows between expanding ability to produce and restriction of the purchasing power of the consumers, the masses of working people. The very ability to produce abundance increasingly gives rise to problems of unemployment and poverty. In ever greater measure there develops what is ironically termed "the problem of plenty."

Want in the Midst of Plenty

On the foundation of a fertile land and the world's most advanced technology the United States has erected an economy capable of providing abundantly for every American (and of eliminating hunger and suffering for many of the world's people).

Due in part to a variety of geographic and historic factors, such as a vast territory and an expanding frontier, American workers have been able to win a wage standard surpassing that of any other capitalist country.

Also important is the fact that U.S. industrial progress has never been blocked by war; instead, capitalism here has thrived on wars fought abroad. And not least important have been the militant,

tenacious, often bloody strikes and other struggles of the American working class.

But this history has also been marked by long-standing mass poverty in city slums and boss-ruled company towns. It has been marked by even more grinding poverty in the countryside, most notoriously among southern black and white sharecroppers and tenant farmers. It has been punctuated by periodic depressions when factories and mills were shut down and millions were thrown out of work. Why? Because we had produced "too much."

Today, we are assured, a "new era" has arrived. We have mastered the secret of regulating the economy, we are told, and can now eliminate depressions and unemployment. Permanent prosperity is at hand.

But all is not so rosy as the prophets of plenty paint it. Since World War I there has never been full employment except in periods of all-out war, and even then only with a large part of the work force in uniform. And the economy has been plagued by repeated recessions, each with its upsurge of joblessness.

Young people face diminishing prospects of employment. Increasingly, older workers find themselves cast on the scrap heap years before they are eligible for pensions. Among Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Indian workers, levels of unemployment often compare with those of deep depression years.

In the midst of "affluence" the government has been compelled to recognize the existence of mass poverty. Even by its conservative yardsticks, nearly one individual in seven is poverty-stricken, and nearly twice that number live at a level below adequacy. Spread across the land are the blighted regions—the Appalachias. In the ghettos, grinding poverty is the lot of the majority. Agricultural workers, and especially migratory workers, live in terrible want. Large numbers of women supporting children are doomed to dependence on relief. On Indian reservations poverty defies description.

The basic source of this poverty is capitalist exploitation. The poor are the most exploited, the lowest paid workers, and victims of chronic unemployment. Added to the exploitation of workers generally is the super-exploitation of Black, Puerto Rican, Mexican-

American and Indian workers, based on a system of brutal national oppression. These get the lowest-paid jobs.

The vaunted regulation of the economy consists mainly of ever more stimulation through military spending—by 1969 more than $100 billion a year. This "regulation" imposes a crushing burden of taxes and inflation, and above all an ever-present danger of mass annihilation in nuclear war.

In addition, billions are squandered on useless chrome plate, built-in obsolescence, gimmicks and gadgets, and on a rising flood of advertising.

But even all this fails securely to stabilize the economy. Recurrent post-war recessions and monetary crises show that the threat of economic crisis has not been banished. Fear of a major depression persists.

Why Socialism

The system of private ownership of the means of production and their use for private profit become more and more a block to economic and social progress. The vast potentials of the new technological revolution are not realized, because its fruits are appropriated by the capitalists. Instead of being eliminated, poverty and unemployment grow. The only real remedy lies in abolishing private ownership of the mines, mills and factories. The workers themselves must become the owners of the means of production. But since production is socialized, that is, since means of production can only be operated jointly by large masses of workers, it follows that ownership by them can only take the form of collective, not individual ownership. Capitalism must be replaced by socialism.

In a socialist society, production will be motivated not by the profit of capitalists but by the needs of the people. Exploitation and oppression of man by man will be ended.

It is the working class, therefore, which is the motive force for socialism. It is the revolutionary class in our society. For it cannot free itself of exploitation without ending the capitalist system, without becoming, as Marx and Engels put it in the *Communist*

Manifesto, the "gravediggers of capitalism." The workers, with such allies as the small farmers, urban middle strata, intellectuals and the specially oppressed minorities—the Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and Indians—are the forces for the socialist revolution in our land.

The Reign of Monopoly

Contrary to the brave adventure in glorious technicolor that is found in history textbooks, American capitalist development is a story of conquest, murder, plunder, corruption and ruthlessness.

It is a story of genocidal wars against the Indians and seizure of their lands, of more than two centuries of slave trade and chattel slavery followed by new forms of cruel oppression of the Black people. It is a story of the war for plunder against Mexico and the annexation of more than half its territory. It is a story of the rape of Puerto Rico, of the Phillipines and—up to 1959—of Cuba. It is a story of the looting of the public treasury and the pillage of the public domain that opened the West to railroad corporations, mining combines and lumber barons. Out of such sordid exploits came the accumulations of capital which led to the power and wealth of American capitalism.

In the ruthless capitalist competition for the market, many small capitalists were crushed or swallowed up by ever fewer and bigger capitalists. The individual capitalist gave way to the corporation, and the process culminated in the emergence of monopoly—of the control of production and the market by a few giant corporations in each major branch of industry. Competitive capitalism gave way to a new stage: monopoly capitalism.

At the apex of our U.S. society today is the power of monopoly capital. In the auto industry, three firms account for nearly the entire output in the United States. Two corporations dominate the electrical industry. In the aluminum industry, three firms control almost all production. And so it is in other industries. These giants are the chief of the 500 corporations which dominate the economy.

These 500 corporations, in turn, fall into domains controlled by a handful of financial groups. The most powerful of these bear

well-known family names of high finance—Morgan, Rockefeller, duPont, Mellon. The Rockefeller family alone owns, controls or decisively influences an empire including such giants as Standard Oil, the Chase Manhattan Bank, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and Westinghouse Electric—an empire whose total worth is estimated at more than $63 billion.

Today the monopolization of the economy proceeds faster than ever in an unprecedented wave of mergers and the mushrooming of conglomerate corporations. In these, collections of enterprises in the most diverse and unrelated fields are tied together in order to grind out ever greater profits.

Monopoly Against the People

Monopoly capital not only exploits wage labor, it also extracts tribute from the rest of the nation. It employs its dominant position in the market place and in the financial system to rig prices and taxes and to manipulate credit. It uses the machinery of government at all levels to fill its coffers.

Monopoly fosters and perpetuates racism, segregation and discrimination so that it can subject Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian workers to the cruelest super-exploitation. From the earliest beginnings the object of Black oppression in this country has been super-exploitation of Black labor, first as slave, later as sharecropper and now as wage labor. For giant corporations this super-exploitation means ten of billions in extra profits, extracted directly at the place of production through employment at the worst jobs, under the worst working conditions and at the lowest wages, and in the community through extortionate rents and prices and outrageous interest charges.

In all these ways big business is the principal exploiter and oppressor of the Black people. The "power structure" of which Afro-American freedom activists speak is a structure commanded by monopoly capital.

Monopoly casts its shadow over the future of the younger generation. Reduction of jobs through automation dooms a growing part of working-class youth to continued unemployment. Those

who acquire higher education or technical skills increasingly face the prospect of becoming cogs in an automated productive machinery.

Monopoly is the principal blight of the nation's farms. To the traditional squeeze by processors, suppliers, bankers, and railroads, has been added domination by giant corporations moving into agriculture with millions in capital to set up "factories in the field" and engage in "agribusiness." Farmers, especially small farmers, are being ruined or converted into laborers for agribusiness more rapidly than ever.

Monopoly exacts its toll from small business and even from the larger non-monopoly capitalists. Using its superior economic resources in ruthless competition, employing its control over credits and prices, obtaining favors from government at the expense of small business, monopoly capital drives thousands of small and not-so-small businesses to bankruptcy and menaces the existence of others.

Monopoly defiles the professions and the intellectual pursuits, reducing the skills of the healer and the talents of the artist to just so many commodities for sale, each with its price tag. It extends standardization to the arts and professions, imposing crass commercialism and deadening uniformity.

The power of big business aggravates every social problem, escalates every evil of capitalist society.

Urban blight, air and water pollution and lack of decent housing are becoming more acute because it is more profitable for the big corporations to keep it that way. The nation's health suffers because medicine is dominated by a few giant insurance companies and chemical-drug combines which resist any threat to their power to extract profit from the needs of the ailing, the infirm, the dying.

Controlling the mass media of information, culture and entertainment, big business turns these into channels of profit and instruments of class rule. Intellectual, moral and cultural values are corrupted to serve the greed of monopoly capitalism. The growth of organized crime of every kind, the spread of police and political corruption—these, too, are products of the rule of big busi-

ness.

Everywhere monopoly capital puts profit above human life. Everywhere its selfish interest conflicts with the public good. Everywhere, therefore, any effort for social progress and human welfare meets the formidable barrier of monopoly.

Thus, in its most elementary self-interest, the vast majority of the nation is pitted against the power of monoply capital.

Monopoly and Government: The Rise of State Monopoly Capitalism

In this struggle the people encounter not only the economic might of monopoly capital, but its political power which controls the machinery of government and the two-party electoral apparatus.

Concentration of economic power breeds concentration of political power. "Among us today," warned Franklin D. Roosevelt, "a concentration of private power without equal in history is growing . . . If there is danger [to our liberties] it comes from the concentrated power which is struggling so hard to master our democratic government."

As monopoly capital has grown, its grip on the state machinery has tightened and extended. The government has virtually become the political instrument of the small group of top monopolists to control the rest of society.

Since the days of the Great Depression, big business has increasingly used the economic power and resources of the government to bolster its profits and strengthen the dominance of U.S. corporate power at home and abroad. In ever more intimate union of economic and political power, corporation executives have swarmed into decisive agencies in Washington and into key cabinet posts to make government more serviceable to the monopolies.

Increasingly, monopoly uses the state to provide markets, capital and subsidies, to guarantee foreign markets and investments, to provide shock absorbers against losses in depression. Even the largest corporations can no longer finance research development and investments on the scale required for the most advanced in-

dustries. They arrange government financing in mixed government-private operations from which they get the profits. They look especially to cold-war and hot-war operations, which involve the most enormous expenditures, the very largest profits, and the most intimate merging of big business and big government.

American monopoly capitalism has grown into state monopoly capitalism. Its most sinister offspring is the military-industrial complex, a combination of those sectors of monopoly with the biggest stake in militarism and foreign conquest and the military brass. The power and privilege of the military-industrial complex grow in proportion to the size of the military establishment it commands.

Corporation officers step from executive suites into Pentagon command posts. Generals and admirals step from military command posts into lucrative positions as top corporation executives. Through these and similar revolving doors there is a constant interchange between policy-making agencies of government and corporate board rooms. In this "power elite" of corporation officers, military commanders and political administrators, it is the corporation men who dominate and monopoly capital that determines policy. Indeed, the basic aim and the net result of the whole corporate-political-military combine is ever greater profits for the big corporations.

The operations of the military-industrial complex involve a network of secret, conspiratorial government agencies under their direct control. An unholy combination exists of the Central Intelligence Agency and the domestic and foreign ventures of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, especially in Latin America. Added to this are many operations of the Pentagon and the State Department, and numerous select White House committees. All these form an "invisible government" exempt from public scrutiny but controlled by monopoly, whose men are on the inside. Increasingly, life-and-death decisions are made within this "invisible government" where the Wall Street-Pentagon axis rules.

The growing power of the military-industrial complex extends to many spheres of American society. It commands the economic life of whole cities and regions. Key branches of industry are now dependent on military procurement. In these the military-industrial

complex has a decisive voice in collective bargaining and the freedom of workers to strike. It intervenes in intellectual and academic life through research grants, "think tank" projects and selective subsidies to universities. Propaganda detachments of the Pentagon and public relations departments of armaments industries employ innumerable devices, from planted comic strips to supposedly scholarly works, to shape public opinion.

The growth of militarism in the heart of our U.S. state monopoly capitalism gives special irony to the propaganda of its apologists, who praise it as the "new capitalism" with all the fervor of a TV commercial. Today, we are told, the "welfare state" has been achieved. A benevolent government looks impartially after the economic and social welfare of all. Government regulation of the economy maintains continuous prosperity and growing affluence for everyone.

What has already been said concerning unemployment and poverty, economic insecurity and fear of recession, is enough to expose the utter falsity of such propaganda. Moreover, compared with the enormous flow of government funds to the monopoly corporations, the highly publicized welfare expenditures are a piddling trickle. And even the existing welfare measures, meager as they are, were not freely given. They were won only through stubborn struggle by the people and must be constantly defended against efforts to wipe them out in the name of "economy," balancing the budget, and cold-war or hot-war emergencies.

Meanwhile, government generosity to the monopolies grows ever more lavish. Government, which now spends some $250 billion a year at all levels, has been shaped into a huge funnel through which billions of dollars taken in taxes from the entire nation are poured into the coffers of giant corporations.

For all this, and most especially for the astronomic armaments expenditures so profitable to big business, working people pay in higher taxes and prices. They pay in the mounting deficit of necessary public services—education, health, transit, recreation—and in the choking off of social welfare expenditures. Government has become an economic agency for taking from the poor to give to the rich. This is the real nature of state monopoly capitalism.

To sum up: the exploitation of wage labor by capital leads to a struggle by the working class whose final goal is to abolish exploitation of man by man by establishing socialism. To the exploitation of wage labor, monopoly and state monopoly capitalism add the exploitation and oppression of other sections of the people, leading to a many-sided struggle against all forms of robbery committed by monopoly capital. This is a struggle whose immediate purpose is not socialism but restriction of the power of the monopolies through controls by people's organizations and by political power in the people's hands. At its heart is the struggle to win control of the government and to use it for the benefit of the people, not the big corporations. This takes place within the framework of a great diversity of struggles against monopoly domination. These diverse democratic struggles, alongside of and intertwined with the class struggle, are objectively struggles against a common enemy: monopoly capital. Hence, as awareness of this grows, they tend to merge into a common stream of struggle—into a coalition of all democratic forces against the power of monopoly. The strategy and tactics of the fight for socialism is closely intertwined with the anti-monopoly struggle.

U.S. Imperialism

To most Americans "imperialism" conjures up an image of empires based on colonial possessions. Modern imperialism is more complex. V. I. Lenin, foremost Communist leader and thinker of this century, defined it as the monopoly stage of capitalism. This stage is characterized not only by the dominance of monopoly and control of the economy by a handful of financial empires. It is characterized also by the accumulation in the hands of the monopolies of huge piles of surplus capital, which they invest abroad to gain control of sources of raw materials and to extract superprofits by exploiting extremely low-paid workers in other countries. This export of capital assumes dominance over the export of goods. In this lies the essence of modern imperialism. By these standards the United States is not only imperialist, it is the most powerful imperialism in the world today.

To make foreign investments and superprofits secure, it is necessary to dominate other countries. In the past such domination assumed crass colonial forms. In our age, it assumes more typically the form of neo-colonialism—a form at which U.S. imperialism is especially adept because of its experience in Latin America. Most Latin American countries have long had nominal political independence. But through economic penetration, military intervention, diplomatic intrigue and cloak-and-dagger conspiracy, U.S. monopoly has gained overwhelming economic and political control in those countries. It exercises similar control over the Philippines.

Since World War II, U.S. imperialism has extended that pattern throughout the "free" world. Private U.S. assets in other countries rose from $12 billion in 1940 to $100 billion in 1968. These investments penetrate not only underdeveloped regions but advanced capitalist countries such as Canada, Japan and the Western European nations, which feel the grip of the dollar. These investments are protected by a global network of some 3,000 military bases, of diplomatic outposts, conspiratorial centers of the Central Intelligence Agency and a retinue of puppet regimes. They are defended by every type of aggressive action, including the threat of nuclear war. From this empire enormous profits are extracted by unequal terms of trade, superexploitation of labor and monopolization of raw materials sources. Today nearly one-fourth of all corporate profits—and among the biggest corporations, one-third—come from abroad. While the main form of U.S. imperialist domination is neocolonialism, the U.S. continues to hold a number of outright colonies: Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa and others. It makes of Hawaii a military outpost and plunders the resources of Alaska, using the device of incorporating these territories into the U.S. as states.. It also holds unofficial protectorates such as Taiwan, Okinawa, South Korea and, for the time being, the main cities of South Vietnam.

The Crisis of U.S. Society

Areas of Crisis

There is growing uneasiness in America, a rising spirit of revolt.

There is crisis and talk of crisis. Crisis in the ghettos . . . in the cities . . . on the farms . . . in the pollution of our environment . . . in education . . . in morality. All these seemingly separate crises are in reality signs of a deepgoing crisis in American society that is most acute in five major areas:

1. Unparalleled massive opposition and militant resistance in every section of the people to the immoral, unjust, colonial and racist war in Vietnam increasingly challenges the fundamental assumptions, motives and goals of official foreign policy. It increasingly becomes opposition to militarism and imperialism as a whole.

2. The flames of ghetto explosions show that misery, inequality and indignity have become unbearable to the great mass of Black Americans. They illuminate their determination to secure now a radical improvement in their economic status and respect for their human dignity as a people.

3. Unrest in labor's ranks is fanned by the revolution in technology that spreads insecurity among workers. Adding to chronic problems of unemployment and poverty, automation and cybernation pose an economic challenge of a new order. Then there is the economic burden of war, paid in rising prices, rising taxes and falling living standards.

4. Rebellion among youth challenges the pretense and performance of capitalist society. It demands realization of democracy, freedom, equality, peace and morality. It insists on realization of the potential of abundance and human creativity brought within reach by modern science and technology.

5. Prominent on our national scene is the rising tide of struggle against political repression. To counter popular discontent, an ugly trend is growing toward suppression of dissent and resistance, toward regimentation and enforced conformity toward creation of a "silenced majority." The trend is shown in the enormous militarization of American life, and in the growth and operation of such political police forces as the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Central Intelligence Agency. It is shown in increasing use of combat-armed police, and even military units, to "pacify" ghettos, to shoot or club down protest demonstrators. It is shown in reactionary legislation and prosecution of dissenters. It is shown in the

growing resort to political murder and assassination. Its most extreme manifestation is an aggressive, well-organized, well-heeled, politically skilled ultra-Right. This ultra-Right, whose views find increasing expression in the government, embracing the most rabid advocates of racism and fascism, today constitutes a grave menace to democratic liberties in our country. This menace the people of our country resist with mounting vigor.

The Nature of the Crisis

The crisis which permeates our society today, of which these crisis areas are symptoms, is the sickness of a society in decay, not only in our country but wherever capitalism reigns.

Beginning with World War I, world capitalism entered a state of general, chronic crisis as a social system. It was then that the contradictions and conflicts within the system reached the point of explosion, visiting the first global war upon mankind. That war triggered a revolutionary wave whose great historic achievement was the socialist revolution of October 1917 in the old Russian Empire. This freed mankind on one-sixth of the earth from capitalism. Since then, capitalism has given rise to almost incessant wars in one part of the world or another. In the thirties the capitalist world was plunged into the most devastating economic crisis in history.

Monopoly capitalism turned to fascism to quell the opposition of the people to its program of war and privation. It resorted to fascism to deprive the people of the democratic rights they had won through decades of struggle. In all capitalist countries fascist tendencies emerged. In Hitler Germany and the other Axis powers the fascists took over and unleashed World War II. Monopoly capitalism nurtures fascist tendencies and movements in the U.S. today as storm-trooper reserves against the people.

At the same time, capitalism has suffered as a result of revolutionary victories of socialism that have wrested more than one-third of mankind from capitalism's grasp. And national liberation struggles are shattering the system of colonialism.

All these phenomena both reflect and accentuate the general

crisis of capitalism. They show that this crisis cannot be resolved without abolishing capitalism. Specific crisis situations (for example, a given economic recession or a crisis arising from a particular military adventure) may be resolved or alleviated within the framework of capitalism. We Communists make common cause with all who fight for such objectives. At the same time we realize that the deepening general crisis of capitalism tends to aggravate specific crisis symptoms and to cause them to recur in more acute form. Fundamental, durable solutions of the major crisis problems of our people can be achieved only through a fundamental—that is, revolutionary—transformation of our society.

The heart of our program lies in defining the connection between what is necessary today in the people's struggles for their immediate needs and the ultimate necessity to replace this society with a rational, humane and just social order.

A majority of our people have been impelled by specific crisis problems into varied forms of struggle. Many have become persuaded that only radical solutions can begin to cope with problems of such magnitude. Growing numbers are coming to recognize that the crisis problems are not just defects of our social system, but are built-in consequences of its innermost workings. They are coming to realize that what they face is not simply a crisis in one or another area of national life, but an organic crisis of an outdated social system that is oppressive, corrupt, exploiting, dehumanizing and irrational. They are concluding, therefore, that it is necessary to change the system, that it cannot be patched up and made to work.

This Leftward-moving wave of struggle, in our country and in others, reflects a dramatic turning point in world history, one which heralds a new wave of advance by the forces of progress.

II. THE WORLD SETTING

The World Balance of Forces

We live in a revolutionary age that in scope and depth eclipses all prior periods of social upheaval and change. The great revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries, including the American and French, directly involved but a small portion of mankind in Europe and the Americas. Today's revolutionary tide extends to all continents, to the most remote regions. Those former revolutions swept away absolute monarchy, feudalism and primitive colonialism in a few spots on the globe. Today's revolutions challenge the reign of imperialism and capitalism everywhere. Today's revolutions mark mankind's historic transition from capitalism to socialism.

The transition from feudalism to capitalism spanned centuries. The hallmark of our age is the swift spread of socialism from its birth in Russia in 1917 to a world-wide system of states embracing one-third of mankind. It is an age that will culminate in the triumph of socialism throughout the world.

Although this final destination is still to be reached, the world has now passed through a most significant waypoint. The balance of strength between the ascendant forces of socialism and anti-colonialist revolution and the declining forces of capitalism and colonialism has shifted irrevocably in favor of the former.

This historic shift, which first became evident in the middle and late 50's is the result, in the first place, of the defeat of the fascist powers in World War II. In this defeat monopoly capitalism, which has nurtured fascism, suffered a blow of world significance. Subsequent developments which contributed to the shift include:

1. The phenomenal recovery of the USSR from the devastation of World War II and its launching out on the road to communism.

2. The consolidation of socialist development and the defeat of counter-revolutionary attempts in the newly established socialist

countries of Eastern Europe—Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

3. The defeat of U.S. aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and of British, French and Israeli aggression against Egypt.

4. The growth of the military and scientific might of the socialist countries including the smashing of the U.S. atom bomb monopoly by the Soviet Union; the emergence of the world peace movement and the rise of the national liberation movement. These have thwarted the unleashing of nuclear war by U.S. imperialism.

5. The Chinese revolution, the liberation of a large number of colonial countries and the heavy blows inflicted on the system of colonialism, with a number of liberated countries taking a socialist orientation.

6. The upsurge of strikes and democratic struggles in the capitalist countries coupled with a rise in organization and class consciousness of the working class and with the growing strength of Communist parties, particularly in France and Italy.

7. Growing economic instability in the capitalist world and the sharpening of interimperialist conflicts and rivalries.

World socialism first presented its challenge to world capitalism in the years following World War I. In the crisis of the thirties the world saw in the rise of the socialist Soviet Union that a different and better way of life was possible. The Soviet role in World War II demonstrated that the change was irreversible. The socialist system of production, free of unemployment and crises, the breaking of the U.S. atom monopoly, the first Sputnik—all these represented new challenges to U.S. capitalism.

The Cuban revolution, which established the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere, marked a defeat of continental dimensions for U.S. imperialism. Its growing successes, despite attempted invasion and the U.S. embargo, have deepened the defeat. They foreshadow the course of liberation for all of Latin America.

The world relationship of forces is not something mechanical or static. It is a relationship between forces engaged in the most intense conflict, global in scope. In such a conflict ebbs and flows

are inevitable. Errors, miscalculations or divisions in the revolutionary camp can and do lead to costly reverses. At selected focal points imperialism can momentarily concentrate an overwhelming superiority of power.

In a number of countries where the issue had been in the balance, the forces of imperialism have succeeded for the time being in regaining the upper hand, imposing reactionary, fascist regimes. The socialist and anti-imperialist forces are momentarily suffering also from disunity within the world Communist movement, particularly that which has resulted from departure from Marxist-Leninist principles by Mao Tse-tung and his supporters in the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

The process remains a zigzag one. But it takes place in a historical situation in which the forces opposing imperialism, led by the working class with its command of state power in vast sections of the globe and its powerful revolutionary movements elsewhere, have already acquired the strength that enables them increasingly to exert the decisive influence on the course of human events. This is the paramount fact which places its indelible stamp on our time.

In some imperialist countries, and even among some sectors of American monopoly capital, there is a tendency to seek adjustment to the new world of reality. But the response of the dominant sections of U.S. imperialism has been to attempt to turn back the revolutionary tide, to reverse the unfavorable balance of forces. This has led to an acute intensification of world tensions and conflicts, highlighted by increasing resort of U.S. imperialism to military aggression. This aggression is the major threat to freedom of the peoples and the peace of the world. Resistance to it has thus become the focal point of struggles on a world scale and within the U.S.

In this conflict it is important to distinguish between the basic nature of imperialism which cannot be altered short of its destruction, and what imperialism *does* in a particular setting, which can be changed. Thus, although the essential nature of British and French imperialism has not changed, both have been compelled to retreat and increasingly to abandon their efforts to retain their colonial empires by military force.

To be sure, U.S. imperialism possesses immeasurably greater power and it is not in the same situation as these rivals. But U.S. imperialism can also be compelled to retreat. True, a much more powerful array of forces is required to compel such change. But such an array of forces exists. It includes the powerful socialist camp, the anti-colonial forces, the world working-class movement and the peoples everywhere struggling for peace and freedom. It includes the majority of our people actively opposing the war in Vietnam and other aspects of U.S. imperialist policy. The power is there; its effective exercise depends upon the unity and militancy of these forces and the level of the struggle they wage.

These are the hard realities with which U.S. official policy clashes.

The "American Century" – A Vain Dream

The main thrust of the policy of world domination took shape in the immediate aftermath of World War II. The U.S. then seemed militarily and economically supreme. It was a pillar of reactionary political stability in a world of unrest and upheavals. America's rulers saw in this the opportunity to dictate peace terms. They took over Hitler's dream of reigning over the globe. They envisioned an "American Century" in which American troops and bases would dominate vassal states. They saw an era in which American monopolies would extract profits from the world's peoples.

Therefore, they launched the cold war, directed against all revolutionary movements everywhere. Above all its target was the Soviet Union, the most formidable obstacle to U.S. world domination as it had been the decisive obstacle to Hitlerite world domination.

Failure to achieve their grandiose ambition shows that even then the U.S. rulers underrated the strength and recuperative powers of socialism and the upsurge of colonial revolution. But whatever the circumstances that made the "American Century" seem achievable in 1946, they are now long gone. The atomic monopoly is long ended. The relative U.S. weight in the global economic scales has lessened with the recovery of its capitalist rivals and with

the enormous economic growth of the socialist camp.

All the positions of strength from which the cold war was launched have been either seriously weakened or destroyed. However, U.S. monopoly, driven by its inner contradictions, persists in waging the cold war. But its global aims collide with the greatest revolutionary tide in history. Hence, U.S. imperialism is embarked upon the most gigantic effort at counter-revolution in human annals.

When the most powerful, industrially advanced countries first embarked upon empire-building, they did not doubt the stability of colonialism as a system. A relatively small military commitment —a few gunboats, several regiments—was enough to conquer an economically backward territory and suppress rebellions of the native population.

Today, to seize or try to hold a key point requires a colossal expenditure of money and manpower, and even that is often insufficient. In our age colonialism itself is being torn apart. Attempting empire-building, U.S. monopoly faces the reality of empire-crumbling. It faces the problem therefore, not only of establishing spheres of empire, but of trying to save the very system of imperialism. All its propaganda catchwords cannot conceal that it acts to halt social change, to thwart the progress of civilization. But U.S. imperialism cannot hope to achieve its designs of empire. It is too late in history for that. This is the age of anti-imperialism.

To be sure, U.S. imperialism achieves some localized successes. But the limitations imposed on it are graphically revealed at two focal points: Cuba and Vietnam.

In eight years of effort U.S. imperialism has not been able to crush the Cuban Revolution, this historic breach in U.S. monopoly domination over what it regards as its private preserve, the Western Hemisphere. Military invasion and threat of invasion, economic boycott, subversion, intrigue—all were employed by the world's most powerful imperialist state against a small island ninety miles from its shores. But revolutionary Cuba endures as a beacon to the oppressed and exploited of all Latin America.

Nothing demonstrates more dramatically than Vietnam how far gone are the days of "gunboat diplomacy." Since 1965 a relatively

small country, with a largely peasant population and primitive industrial plant, has withstood and won major victories against aggression by the world's foremost industrial state, possessing overwhelming superiority in armaments. U.S. imperialism has displayed fiendish skill in murdering people, but by the same token it has exposed its inability to kill the will of a revolutionary people to fight for independence and freedom as long as it has the opportunity and means to fight.

The gallant resistance of the Cuban and Vietnamese peoples is rendered undefeatable by the solidarity of the socialist camp, by the support of other peoples and not least of the American people —in short, by the new balance of forces in the world. This only underscores the growing gulf between U.S. monopoly's design to reverse the world revolutionary process and its capacity to achieve this reactionary aim.

The Struggle Against U.S. Imperialism

U.S. imperialism retains the capacity, however, to kill and maim other peoples. It can still exact an ever heavier toll in blood and treasure from the American people. It retains the capacity to unleash global nuclear war.

Struggle against U.S. imperialism is, therefore, literally a struggle to save the nation—and the world—from catastrophe. One or another aggressive thrust of U.S. imperialism can be checked by resistance abroad and popular opposition at home. Checked at one point, it will attempt to expand at another. Thus, we foresee a stubborn, many-sided conflict with U.S. imperialism. But it is not an endless, unchanging struggle. Each setback for U.S. imperialism weakens its position and strengthens the forces opposing it. It is possible therefore, to create a preponderance of anti-imperialist strength that will curb the aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism and reduce its political power at all levels. For the American people, of course, the final aim is to end imperialism and war by destroying U.S. monopoly capitalism and replacing it with a new social system.

In the struggle against imperialism an important factor is divi-

sions within the ranks of monopoly itself. These express themselves mostly as limited tactical differences in particular situations. But even these, in moments of crisis can be a factor in averting ultimate catastrophe, thereby providing opportunity and time in the struggle for more basic change.

When the MacArthur plan for bombing China and employing nuclear weapons was rejected in the Korean War, the outbreak of World War II was averted and preconditions were created for a negotiated truce in that conflict. When the Pentagon-CIA proposal to bomb Cuba was rejected during the missile crisis of October 1962, mankind was again pulled back from the abyss of World War III, Cuban socialism was saved and the possibility was preserved for peaceful resolution of that crisis. But Guantanamo remains as a festering sore of imperialist aggression.

Such divisions do not in themselves contain the promise of progressive solutions. Only popular struggles contain such promise. But any serious strategy of struggle must take into account the divisions within the enemy camp and take every possible advantage of them.

The peoples abroad fighting for independence are natural allies of all within the U.S. fighting the same enemy. It is the duty of all who fight monopoly capital in this country to support their struggles. Their struggles and ours reinforce one another. Both reinforce the struggle for world peace. Millions of our people have come to realize that this is the significance of the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. So, too, the active support of the Cuban revolution and of the liberation struggles of all the peoples of Latin America in opposition to Wall Street imperialism are in the best interests of the people of the United States.

In particular, the Communist Party upholds the cause of the independence of Puerto Rico. Real independence means more than full sovereignty and removal of occupying forces and officials, basic as these are. Indemnities must be paid for the billions in superprofits taken from Puerto Rico over the past seventy years. Existing travel and trade privileges in the United States must be left intact. All restrictions on Puerto Rican relations with other countries must be abolished.

"Anti-Communism" and Chauvinism – Designs For Catastrophe

To camouflage its aggressive aims, to provide an ideological cloak for its brazen assaults on the independence of peoples, U.S. imperialism employs the device of "anti-Communism." This serves at home to create confusion, divisions among the people and suppression, and abroad it gives the gloss of a holy crusade to a rank policy of conquest.

"Anti-Communism" means not genuine criticism but a caricature of Communism. The ideology of "anti-Communism" is based on lies. It ascribes to Communists aims and methods which bear no relation to reality. It tries to incite hatred of Communism. It brands as "Communist" all who stand in the way of aggressive imperialism. It seeks to justify any repression, any cruelty—even genocide—in the name of "fighting Communism."

It was Adolph Hitler who carried "anti-Communism" to its most fanatical extreme. The lesson of Hitlerism must never be forgotten.

To be sure, Hitler hated Communism, an enmity of which we Communists are proud. But in the interests of the German monopolies, under the cloak of "anti-Communism" he crushed trade unions and democracy in Germany, conquered Western Europe, blitzed Britain, and aimed to establish global domination. U.S. monopoly capital similarly hates Communism and this, too, is an enmity of which we Communists are proud. But just as surely this "anti-Communism" serves U.S. monopoly's designs for reaction at home, its drive for neo-colonial conquest, its drive for world domination.

Employment of "anti-Communism" to justify the brass knuckles of imperialist conquest is nowhere more brazen than in Latin America. An official doctrine of preventive counter-revolution has been proclaimed, whereby U.S. corporate-political power arrogates to itself the "right" to crush any revolution in the hemisphere with bomb, bayonet and gun on the grounds that it might turn "Communist."

The U.S. government has added to this modernized Monroe Doctrine a Pacific Doctrine for Asia and an Atlantic policy for Europe.

U.S. imperialism claims the "right" to crush revolution and conquer everywhere under the slogan of anti-Communism, and for that purpose has put together aggressive military alliances such as NATO and SEATO.

Just as Hitler's "anti-Communism" ultimately led the German nation itself to catastrophe, so the ultimate victim of the "anti-Communism" of U.S. imperialism must, if it is not checked, be the people of the United States and the people of the world.

Certainly "anti-Communism" has failed to halt the revolutionary process. This process is irreversible because it is propelled by the growing awareness among the world's peoples that fundamental social and political change is necessary for a better life. The impulse to revolution in these lands is strengthened as the gulf between their destitution and the relative affluence of the advanced capitalist countries which loot them grows ever wider. To them "anti-Communism" is indeed a hollow argument against revolution.

Coupled with "anti-Communism" is the resort to national chauvinism and racism as ideological cloaks for division and conquest. In the U.S. the predominant form of national chauvinism is white chauvinism. Racism is fostered to maintain and aggravate disunity between white and black Americans. National chauvinism is encouraged to justify the depredations of U.S. imperialism in other parts of the world, such as the aggression in Korea and Vietnam, the intervention in the Dominican Republic, Guatemala and the Congo, and the fostering of animosity to the Arab peoples.

Under Hitler fascism, national chauvinism and racism ended in the genocidal slaughter of ten million beings. But Germans—German workers and German Jews—were Hitler's first victims. The lesson of Hitlerism is that, at the bitter end, the American people themselves would become the victims of the chauvinistic pestilence.

The Revolutionary Process

Contemporary revolutions bear two distinctive marks: they are socialist, they are anti-imperialist. More than a billion human

beings have embarked on socialist revolution. Untold millions more in the capitalist countries are striving to achieve that goal. A billion more are in various stages of revolution for national liberation. Nor is it a matter of numbers alone. In socialist lands there is enormous growth of strength, economic and military, fed by spectacular advances in science, technology and education, nourished by the optimism and unity of peoples joined in the rewarding labor of social progress. And even in those newly liberated colonial lands which have not yet taken the socialist path there is a new pride of sovereign nationhood, a new resolve to overcome economic and social backwardness and other legacies of colonialism.

The anti-colonial revolutions aim to destroy imperialist domination, feudal bondage and political tyranny. In the struggle for such aims a broad national unity is attainable, including workers, peasants, intellectuals, middle classes, and even some capitalists restricted by foreign monopoly. The attainment of such aims, progressive and liberating as they are, is not yet the attainment of socialism. However, socialist and anti-colonial revolutions are closely linked.

1. Imperialism is the common enemy of both.

2. Anti-colonial revolutions are aided by the revolutionary example of the socialist world and by its economic, diplomatic, and military assistance.

3. Striving to leap from economic backwardness and extreme poverty to modern industry and abundance, colonial peoples are increasingly impelled to bypass capitalist economic forms, which retard their growth and subject them to imperialist penetration. Workers and peasants, who suffer most acutely from the legacies of colonialism, are therefore impelled to make the advance from anti-colonial revolution to socialist revolution. This brings them into sharpest conflict with neo-colonialism and with those social strata which derive wealth and privilege from a private profit system.

Thus, the two kinds of revolution typical of our age—socialist and anti-colonial—are distinct yet interconnected parts of one revolutionary process. Each reinforces the other.

The revolutionary process takes a wide variety of forms, arising from the specific conditions of each revolution. One may learn from many revolutions, but one cannot take any single revolution as a model to copy. Whatever influence may be exerted by the example and experience of others, each revolution arises from the problems, social conflicts and class relationships in its own country. There can be no import or export of revolution.

The Fight For Peace

U.S. monopoly capital, however, seeks to export counter-revolution. The U.S. thus becomes the alien intruder, violating the right to self-determination, employing military force when other means fail to secure its domination. Social revolution thus becomes joined with the struggle for national independence. More, revolution becomes joined with the struggle for peace because it confronts U.S. imperialist intervention, the primary source of war in the world today.

The struggle for peace is, therefore, a struggle for the right of all peoples to secure national independence, to make such revolutionary change as they find necessary, free of military intervention or aggression. It is a struggle to frustrate, rebuff and block each threat or act of aggression by U.S. imperialism. It is also a struggle to prevent U.S. imperialism from plunging the world into nuclear war. Each aggression by U.S. imperialism needs to be defeated and halted because it is in itself, as in Vietnam, immoral, unjust, reactionary and barbarous. Each also needs to be halted before it can erupt into thermonuclear war.

In the struggle for peace the central factor is the existence of two rival social systems—socialism and capitalism. From its inception in one industrially backward, war-weakened country surrounded by hostile and far more powerful capitalist states, socialism proclaimed a policy of peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition between the two systems. Socialist society contains no vested economic interests that profit from war, and hence no economic compulsions to military conquest. On the contrary its own internal development and political interests are best served

by peace. Lenin and other leaders of the fledgling socialist state firmly believed that socialism would triumph throughout the world, but not through aggressive employment of Soviet arms. Their belief was based on their understanding of the contradictions within capitalism, on their confidence that the working class in the capitalist countries would be impelled by historical necessity to lead a victorious struggle for socialism. They were further persuaded that Soviet economic and social progress, visibly demonstrating the superiority of socialism as a social system, would exert the most revolutionizing effect upon the world's peoples.

Out of such fundamental considerations emerged the socialist policy of striving to prevent a military clash between the two social systems, of impressing upon the world's peoples that socialism sought to wage the contest between the two systems through economic, ideological and political means. The choice of means, however, was not socialism's alone. While advocating peaceful coexistence, Lenin recognized that imperialism, in view of its superior strength might well suceed in unleashing war upon the world. This it did in World War II.

The new factor in our time is the emergence of socialism as a world system in alliance with the vast national liberation revolutions and with far more advanced and powerful working-class movements in the capitalist countries. This new constellation of forces possesses the power to deny imperialism its former freedom of action to determine the course of world events. This is the basis for the new conclusion that prevention of a military showdown between the two world systems—a showdown which almost inevitably would be a thermonuclear war—is now realizable.

But this objective can be realized only through the most resolute, militant and united struggle by the forces of peace and liberation against the forces of imperialism and war.

The struggle for peace is inexorably intertwined with the revolutionary process. To curb the aggressive drive of U.S. imperialism is to create the most favorable conditions for the further development of revolutionary change. And each revolutionary advance, by weakening imperialism, reinforces the struggle for peace. In the broad historical sweep, the struggle for peace is objectively

a struggle to facilitate the transition from capitalism to socialism without the catastrophic devastation of nuclear war.

At this moment the global struggle between the forces of imperialism and war on one side and the forces of liberation and peace on the other is centered on the bloody battlefronts of Vietnam. The supreme challenge now is to end U.S. aggression and to bring our troops—ground, air, naval—home, so that the Vietnamese people may freely decide their own destiny. As long as U.S. aggression continues, not only the destiny of the Vietnamese people but the fate of all peoples hangs in the balance. Renewed escalation cannot achieve "victory"—but it can trigger World War III.

Vietnam is a bloody testimonial to the bestial crimes that U.S. imperialism commits in its pursuit of counter-revolution and world domination. It is the duty of Americans, in whose name these crimes are committed, to end them and prevent their repetition elsewhere. Vietnam has brought home to the people the need to rid our nation of the shameful burden of aggression and militarism in order to begin to deal with the social ills and injustices which beset our people.

Beyond the fight against this particular war and other wars and interventions, is the fight for disarmament, for prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, for removing forever the threat of international genocide.

With the overwhelming majority of the world's peoples favoring disarmament, with this cause inscribed in resolutions of the United Nations, it is a goal which can be fought for with a realistic perspective of success. U.S. imperialism can be compelled to curb drastically its escalating production of death-dealing weapons. It can be compelled to allot much of the money now spent for this purpose for badly needed public services and social welfare.

III. THE FORCES OF PROGRESS

The Spirit of Rebellion

Rising tensions and turbulent conflicts become ever more conspicuous landmarks on the American scene. The growing extortions of the state-monopoly combination meet with a rising spirit of rebellion on all sides. And this spirit has been brought to a head by aggression in Vietnam with its pervasive impact on American life.

The Vietnam war has greatly accelerated the trend toward militarization of the country. It has greatly expanded the power of the military-industrial complex. It has accentuated the deformation of the nation's economy and the perversion of its political priorities.

Drift toward authoritarian rule, inherent in state monopoly capitalism, becomes increasingly pronounced. Unprecedented and unconstitutional concentration of powers in the hands of the presidency, especially war-making powers, has taken place. The FBI and CIA as instruments of the "invisible government" become ever more brazen in their spying, bugging, infiltration, subversion and instigation of dangerous military adventures. The Pentagon has become an economic empire serving big business, with assets totalling more than $160 billion--a mammoth pork barrel for billions in profits and corruption in high places.

For the first time in our history we have a permanent system of conscription, violating all American tradition. Millions of young Americans are subjected to systematic military indoctrination. A powerful military caste has been created in the upper echelons of the armed forces. Institutions of higher learning are being turned into regimented adjuncts of the military-industrial complex.

There is growing resort to outright repression, to imprisonment for war opponents and black militants, to increasing police violence and murder, and to plans for military occupation of the ghettos. There is an ugly growth of racist, fascist incitement.

In the economic sphere the enormous demands of the war machine come into ever sharper conflict with the essential needs of the American people. Deficits in social welfare and public

services are increasing. The crisis of the cities deepens as does the crisis in education, health and other social needs. Less and less money is left to meet the demand of the people of the ghettos and slums for radical improvement in their conditions. Family incomes are eroded by rising prices and taxes to feed the war machine. The right to strike for higher wages in the endless race to catch up with soaring living costs is under attack. And hardest hit by all this are the Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers.

The aggressive policies of U.S. monopoly capital lead in the direction of more war, more militarization, more sacrifices for the working people, more repression, more racism—in short, in the direction of some form of fascist-military rule. But the oppressive, warlike forces of monopoly are meeting with powerful forces opposing these trends—irrepressible movements of protest, resistance and rebellion. Where the country will go will be decided by the great battles and powerful movements only now unfolding.

In these, the growing involvement of the organized workers is the sure guarantee of victory. A mighty peace movement has arisen, the most powerful in the nation's history, embracing millions. Growth in numbers has been accompanied by growth in awareness that it is U.S. aggression which is responsible for the war in Vietnam. Along with rising moral outrage there is growing recognition that U.S. aggression is not an unfortunate "mistake" but the consequence of an imperialist drive to dominate other peoples.

In the ghettos, unprecedented rebellions have been triggered by anger at sops and broken promises, by frustration at the indifference to the true magnitudes of the economic deprivation, human indignity and murderous police repression to which the Black people are subjected. Black Americans are fighting energetically for control of schools and other public institutions in their communities. There is mounting resistance to police brutality and other forms of violence.

In labor's ranks rebellion is manifested in stubborn, militant strikes that defy government threats and pressures, and often override policies of conservative union officials. It is manifested in the gathering challenge embracing a major section of the trade union movement, to the pro-war line of the Meany officialdom.

In the younger generation rebellion is dramatized in ence of a powerful draft resistance movement. In growing young men—supported by their elders—refuse to serve in an immoral, unconstitutional, imperialist war. Resistance to the has spread within the armed forces.

Young workers are prominent in challenging the status quo in the unions. They form the backbone of rank-and-file movements and struggles. Masses of students are in revolt against the reactionary, racist character of our educational institutions.

In the intellectual and professional community, in religious circles, there is a vigorous revival of social protest and commitment after the long, shameful silence of the McCarthyite era. Inspired by the example of Black militancy, and driven by their own needs, the Chicano, Puerto Rican and Indian communities assert their grievances and demands with greater boldness and unity. In farm regions there are producers' strikes. In short, most significant on the American scene are the new, dynamic elements, the new forces of social change, of the great democratic upsurge. Significant, too, is the growing process of radicalization among all these sections of the people, the mounting development of political, class and social consciousness. Ever more widely, the existing scale of values and priorities growing out of capitalist exploitation and oppression, is being questioned and challenged.

Millions of our people seek radical alternatives to prevailing programs and policies, radical alterations in the condition and quality of the life they live. Smaller but growing numbers are becoming committed to the most radical of alternatives—a new society. The interest in Marxism has grown enormously in the past decade. New forms of struggle arise, reflecting deep distrust of existing institutions and conventional channels as avenues for remedial action. But discontent is much wider than this. For every militant draft-resister there are thousands who express their opposition to the Vietnam war through more traditional means. For every militant activist in ghetto rebellions there are thousands of ghetto dwellers who register their resistance and demand in their own way.

When people seek change they encounter a profound truth: all

serious political action is a contest for power. The struggle for change is, in the first place, a struggle for the power to compel change. The power that now dominates American society is that wielded by monopoly capital. How can the diverse popular movements, responding to different issues and operating on different levels of consciousness and action be welded into a power mighty enough to challenge effectively this reigning power? What kind of strategy can most swiftly bring about such a coalescence and guide it best in the struggle against monopoly?

These are the urgent, central political questions in the U.S. today. They cannot be answered without facing up to another question. What are the decisive forces in our U.S. society that can bring about its transformation? The Communist answer is that the working class is the primary force for basic social change in our society. And side by side with the working class—indeed, in its great majority part of the working class—there stands another powerful dynamic agency for social change that has emerged out of the unique American social development—the Black people.

Only the combination of these forces possesses the power and self-interest necessary to transform our U.S. society. Any strategy for radical alternatives now or revolutionary change tomorrow that is not based on their combined strength in the struggle is impotent. Allies will come from other strata of the population oppressed by monopoly, and these are important, but by themselves they cannot successfully confront the power of monopoly. Without the engine of working class-Negro alliance, really basic progress is impossible, let alone the achievement of socialism. Even the achievement of more elementary united action is questionable. Therefore, it is necessary to examine more closely the movements and struggles of the working class, the Afro-American people and their potential allies.

The Working Class

Its Special Role

The central importance of the class struggle in present-day

capitalist society is not altered by the growth of monopoly and state monopoly capitalism. To be sure, monopoly capital oppresses other classes and social strata, but the base of its profits, the indispensable source of its wealth and power, is exploitation of workers in the productive process. In this lies the special position which the working class occupies in the anti-monopoly struggle.

It is the working class which directly challenges capitalist exploitation. It is, therefore, the cardinal force of social progress. But all the forces of social progress are increasingly compelled to question capitalism's right to exploit human energies and natural riches for private profit. And as they do so they tend to gravitate increasingly around the working class.

The enormous concentration of production and ownership which underlies the development of monopoly capital is parallelled by the concentration of workers in huge plants and in the industrial networks of giant corporations. This has given them a sense of cohesion and organization shared by no other class or grouping confronting monopoly power. Hence they are as a class both the strongest and the most consistent antagonists of monopoly capital.

The working class is the one class which grows in size with the development of capitalist production. Today it constitutes the overwhelming majority of all who are gainfully employed. But is it not true, some ask, that the new technology is eliminating the great mass of blue-collar manual workers and replacing them with a "new class" of technicians, engineers and scientists? Of course, the proportion of white-collar workers has greatly increased, as has the proportion of technical and professional workers. There has also been a substantial rise in service employment. Nevertheless, blue collar workers are still nearly three-fifths of the total work force. And the number of production workers, the heart of the working class, is rising, not declining. Thus, not only does the working class grow in numbers but its blue-collar and industrial core endures.

Nor is it true that the main sections of the working class have managed, through rising wages and growing affluence, to minimize the impact of exploitation. On the contrary, as we have seen, with

advancing technology, exploitation has intensified and economic insecurity has increased, for the better-paid workers as well as for the poorer-paid. And to this has been added in rising prices and taxes the economic burden of the aggression in Vietnam. The enormous economic, military and political advantages which U.S. imperialism commanded at the close of World War II have largely diminished. And with this its ability to meet the struggles of sections of the working class with concessions has also greatly diminished. As the world balance of forces has shifted, as the relative strength of U.S. monopoly capital has declined, and as the cost of empire has risen, its range of economic maneuver within the country has become more and more restricted.

Thus, U.S. imperialism finds cheap conquests increasingly rare. And, as always, the rising costs of imperialist adventure are shifted in growing degree onto the workers.

Since 1965 real wages have first stagnated and then gone down. Taxes and prices continue to rise steeply. To this must be added the cost in blood, which, too, is extracted mostly from the working class and particularly from the black community. And since the cost of attempted world domination will continue to rise, the squeeze will continue to be tightened.

Clearly the prospect before the American working class is one of growing economic pressures and sharpening problems. Workers face increasing hardships imposed by falling real wages, mounting debts, intolerable speedup and growing job insecurity. And they face added inroads on their purchasing power and living conditions through rising rents and growing urban decay.

The working class also confronts a host of new problems arising from the spread of automation and from a new rash of corporate mergers. These mergers have resulted in the wholesale emergence of a new monster: the conglomerate corporation which combines under a single management the widest diversity of industrial, financial and commercial firms. The workers employed by these corporations, divided into many unions, are placed increasingly at a disadvantage. New difficulties are created for the trade unions, which traditional forms of struggle and union structure are less and less able to meet. They give special urgency to the fight for labor

unity, structural change and trade union democracy.

Automation has led to the increased growth of a stratum of technicians, engineers, scientists and a body of white-collar workers, all closely related to production. This places a new challenge before the labor movement. It can ignore these groups and abandon them to the exploiting class, in which case it is faced with a potential strikebreaking force and a conduit for bringing ruling class ideas into its ranks. Or it can recognize them as potential reinforcements for the labor movement and strive to organize them and infuse them with the spirit of unionism and class solidarity.

A paramount challenge facing the trade union movement is organization of the millions of unorganized workers. Receiving grossly substandard wages, these workers have fallen still farther behind in the race against falling living standards. And in the ghettos and barrios the great majority remains sunk in mass poverty and mass unemployment. This is a major problem demanding labor action.

These hard realities compel workers to fight with growing vigor in defense of their economic conditions. Strikes have become more numerous, more stubborn, harder-fought. Often they are waged in defiance of government threats, pressures and intervention, and in spite of appeals to sacrifice for the "war effort." Strike struggles have spread among government employees, in the face of legal restraints and threats of arrest and imprisonment. Strikes by school teachers are commonplace. Especially noteworthy are the militant strikes of Black southern workers. Noteworthy, too, are the long, bitterly fought struggles of Chicano agricultural workers in California and Texas. Thus the organized workers, far from being passive, are coming into ever sharper economic conflict with the employers. And among the unorganized masses, too, there are new stirrings, new pressures for organization.

The Bankruptcy of "Class Partnership"

As their struggles sharpen, the masses of workers come into ever more forceful collision with the policies of "class partnership" espoused by the top AFL-CIO officialdom. These policies are based on the false proposition that labor and capital are partners, not

irreconcilable foes. The more acute the crisis of U.S. monopoly capitalism and the greater the efforts to make the workers pay its costs, the more glaring is the bankruptcy of such policies.

By chaining itself to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism, the Meany leadership is now identified with the most barbarous and hated war in our history; by entering into collusion with the Central Intelligence Agency, by accepting payoffs from the military-industrial complex to provide "no revolution" insurance in other lands, this leadership has increasingly isolated American labor from the world labor movement.

By its total subservience to the parties of monopoly capital, especially to the Democratic Party, it has sapped labor of its political strength and exposed it to serious political defeats and betrayals.

By virtue of such "class partnership" policies it has greatly weakened labor's economic struggles. It has laid the unions open to anti-labor legislation, compulsory arbitration and government strike-breaking, all of which are undertaken in the name of the very war policy to which the AFL-CIO officialdom is committed.

By accommodation to tokenism and gradualism and even more overt forms of racism, at a time when the demand of Black workers for equality is more insistent and urgent than ever, it sows deeper divisions in the working class to the advantage of the corporate exploiters. Against such bankrupt policies there has developed a rising resistance in the ranks of workers, assuming a variety of forms.

Increasingly, workers override settlements negotiated by conservative union officials and reject their counsels of restraint. Rank-and-file movements are growing for greater democracy in the unions, for restoration of the shop steward system, for greater autonomy to resolve grievances at the point of production, resorting to strike when necessary.

A national movement of union members and officers has arisen to challenge the war policies of U.S. imperialism and official labor subservience to them. The Alliance for Labor Action, representing more than 5 million workers, has taken a stand against the war in Vietnam.

The growth of Black caucuses challenges discrimination in industry and in unions, and affords a channel for infusing unions with some of the militancy of the Black liberation struggle and for revitalizing the trade union movement.

These increasing signs of a rank-and-file resurgence reflect the sharpening class antagonisms within the country.

This sharpening is reflected also in the rise of moves to strengthen unity through union mergers and in recent realignments within the trade union movement. Among them is the withdrawal of the United Auto Workers from the AFL-CIO and its association with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the Alliance for Labor Action, since joined by the other unions. The ALA advocates policies opposed to those associated with the leadership of George Meany. It possesses potential for significant advancement of labor's interests, provided that the realization of this potential is fought for through rank-and-file pressures and actions.

All these movements are essential for revitalizing organized labor and strengthening the leading role of the working class in present-day anti-monopoly struggles. Central in this process is the building of an organized Left current within the trade union movement and its alliance with the Center forces in struggle against the reactionary policies of the Right.

The Fight for Working-Class Unity

In its historical development the American working class has been distinguished by its militancy and fighting capacity, demonstrated in countless battles. It has acquired great organizational skill and competence. But it is hindered by certain politically and ideologically backward features. Foremost among these is the racist ideology of white supremacy. Racism has always been a potent weapon of capitalism in the U.S. to split the working class. It presents an especially ominous peril to the working class today.

A century ago Karl Marx prophetically warned that "labor in a white skin can never be free so long as labor in a black skin is branded." This warning assumes special force now, when continuing oppression of Black people has become a prime obstacle to all

social progress. Racism is a deadly poison. It divides the nation and the working class. It weakens the fighting capacity of white workers and the people as a whole, robbing them of human dignity, morality and outlook. It corrodes the class consciousness of workers.

Indeed, the very existence of unions as effective instruments of the workers rides on their determination and ability to overcome racism. The fight against racism is essential to unity of black and white workers and the internal unity of unions, without which they cannot effectively unite to fight the employers. It is also indispensable to establish and cement bonds between labor and the dynamic Black liberation movement vital to the aims of both. For labor, the cost of racism now is catastrophic. And the rewards of black-white solidarity, which can be truly achieved only to the degree that racism is overcome, are infinite.

The indispensable condition for strengthening the alliance of labor and the Black community is an uncompromising fight by white workers against racism and discrimination in industry, in the union and in the community. Only through such a fight can the Black community be won as an ever firmer ally of organized labor.

In addition to white chauvinism, the ruling class utilizes a variety of other divisive techniques. Discrimination against Spanish-speaking workers, particularly Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, who have swelled the labor force in recent decades, is an extension of a traditional technique of pitting one minority against another. Divisions are also fostered between employed and unemployed, between organized and unorganized, between old and young, between white-collar and blue-collar. The special penalties imposed by capitalism on women who work for wages tends to create division between men and women. This is a factor of growing importance. Millions of women have entered the labor market because many working class families cannot make ends meet on the income of one wage earner. Today women make up 37 per cent of the entire labor force.

In the labor market, women encounter varied forms of discrimination. They are paid lower wages than men receive for the same or comparable work. Though 3.5 million women are now in unions, they are still employed in disproportionate numbers in the

largely unorganized, low-paying occupations—office, service, retail trade, sweatshop industry. Even in these occupations women are usually paid less than men. Over-all, the median wage paid to women is only 60 per cent of that paid to men. This discrimination, which brings billions in extra profits, the capitalist class seeks to justify through the ideology that women are less competent than men. Women workers suffer also from an almost total lack of child care centers, from the absence of paid pregnancy leaves and from numerous other special handicaps imposed on them.

Black women are chained to the most menial, lowest paying jobs of all. More than half of them work in domestic and service occupations. Thirty per cent are domestic workers, compared to less than 6 per cent of white women workers. For these there is no minimum wage, no unemployment compensation and no job security of any kind. The median wage of Black women is less than 70 per cent of that of white women. Forty per cent of Black women in the poverty income brackets are heads of families who have to carry the total economic, social and psychological burden of maintaining the family.

Women are virtually excluded from leadership in unions, even where they are a majority. Their struggle for equality, for entry into new fields of gainful occupation, for participation as equal partners at all levels of union leadership and for defense of children, home, family and community is the fight of all labor, it is the fight for labor's unity, for its increased strength against the capitalist enemy.

Class Struggle Versus "Class Partnership"

To overcome divisions in its ranks the working class must become aware of itself as a distinct class with its own community of interests, and locked in irreconcilable conflict with the capitalist class that exploits it.

Historically, the achievement of such class consciousness was impeded by a class fluidity permitting some hope of escape from the status of wage worker. This was made possible in large measure by the American frontier, by the availability of vast tracts of land opened to settlement, which seemingly offered an "escape hatch"

from capitalist exploitation.

The frontier is long gone and monopoly's reign has narrowed other "escape hatches" to the vanishing point. But false concepts persist, especially when they are systematically cultivated by monopoly's hired spokesmen who proclaim that in America there are no classes and no class struggle.

Yet today professed radicals echo the line that in America the class struggle has either vanished or lost its relevance. Objectively such false notions reinforce the position of "class partnership" advocates among labor officials. For if there is no class struggle, there can only be "class partnership" and class peace.

We Communists emphatically reject such concepts as the logic of surrender. In a society governed by the exploitation and oppression imposed by monopoly capital, "class partnership" can only mean the subordination of the workers' interests to those of monopoly. It places a premium on non-militancy and accommodation with the employers, on taking the path of least resistance.

"Class partnership" introduced the cold-war virus into the labor movement. It split the CIO with the expulsion of the Left-led unions and with the purging of the Left in other unions. The virus is "anti-Communism," which divides the workers and diverts their attention from their real problems and real enemies.

"Class partnership" stifles workers' development, fosters bureaucracy and enfeebles democracy. Thus unions become easier prey to company-instigated government intervention and regulation.

The task of those who wish to fight for socialism is not to join the spokesmen of Big Business by attempting to write off the class struggle. It is rather to be a part of the day-to-day struggles of the workers, to help make it clear that their interests are served not by accommodation but by struggle. It is to help them become conscious of the identity of their individual interests with those of their class. It is to help them understand that these class interests can be served only at the expense of the exploiting class—in the end by its elimination.

Political Independence—Key Need

The gravest injury done to workers by "class partnership" policies

is the political imprisonment of the labor movement within the confines of the two monopoly-controlled parties. This is particularly harmful in a period when the growth of state monopoly capitalism increasingly joins economics with politics.

The old maxim that what is won on picket lines can be lost in legislative halls is more apt than ever. Even more, what is won on picket lines is also predetermined increasingly in legislative halls and executive offices as government intervenes in the collective bargaining process to dictate settlement terms and breaks strikes.

Today workers confront what is virtually an interlocking directorate between the big corporations and the top echelons of government. More and more, the central problems that concern workers go beyond the narrow limits of "pure and simple unionism."

Consider the problems arising from the new technology. What happens to workers displaced or excluded from industry by automation cannot be resolved solely through collective bargaining and other traditional forms of economic struggle. These become broad social issues which must also be fought out on political terrain. Or consider the growing use of government economic resources to fatten the profits of monopoly at the expense of the working people. Increasingly, workers are forced to wage a political battle to compel the use of government resources for *their* benefit, not for the profits of monopoly.

The center of gravity in the class struggle is shifting more and more into the political arena. The conflict between labor and capital becomes more and more a political struggle.

Yet labor's political instruments are subordinated to parties controlled by capital. Not even the most rabid "class partnership" advocate would dare to propose that a steel corporation executive head the steelworkers' union. But in the ever more decisive political arena it is still proposed that workers give their loyalty to parties that, in the final analysis, are controlled by corporation executives. The historic challenge that faces labor, therefore, is to assert its political independence, to break out of the monopoly-controlled two-party system. It is to become the leading force in a mass people's anti-monopoly party.

In entering the political arena the workers confront capitalists not

as individual plant managements or corporations, but as a class. And to the extent that labor asserts its political independence and fashions its own political instruments it signals growth in its self-awareness as a class. It shows its readiness to replace the fraudulent "class partnership" with monopoly with a genuine political partnership beween labor and other strata of the population in common battle against monopoly.

Organize the Unorganized

Among the biggest roadblocks to unity of the working class and realization of labor's true strength as an organized force is the fact that the great majority of wage and salaried workers in the country are still unorganized. To organize these millions is a task of strategic importance for American labor. On its fulfillment hinges the future progress of the working class in fighting for its interests and its ability to exert its proper weight in the developing coalition against monopoly capital.

Still unorganized are large numbers of white-collar workers and a growing body of technical and professional workers. The primary need, however, is organization of the masses of grossly underpaid workers employed mainly in agriculture, in service occupations such as domestic work, retail trade, restaurants, laundries, hospitals, etc., and in many factory jobs. Some twelve million of these workers receive wages so low that even with steady work their earnings remain well below the poverty level. Concentrated in these poverty-level areas of employment are great numbers of Black, Puerto Rican, Chicano and Indian men and women, forced into them by the shameful practice of racist discrimination.

By far the greatest concentration of starvation wages, poverty and hunger is in the South, the spawning ground of racism and reaction in our country. The South is the greatest bastion of the open shop, of rabid anti-unionism. Here the proportion of organized workers is lowest and working conditions are worst. Here wages of white as well as black workers are held down far below the national average. Organization of the South is therefore of paramount importance.

A successful organizing drive in the South would have far-reach-

ing national effects. It would wipe out monopoly's main base of super-exploitation. It would greatly spur organization of the unorganized throughout the country. It would deliver a body blow to the forces of Dixiecrat reaction which today dominate Congress, poison our national political life and are a principal mainstay of the fascist ultra-Right. It would immeasurably strengthen the democratic forces of our country, economically and politically.

Such an organizing drive can succeed only if it is based on the unity of black and white workers. This means a ruthless fight against the fascist ideas and practices of the giant corporations which dominate the South. It means an all-out struggle against racism among white workers and against discriminatory practices in trade unions. It requires energetic efforts to achieve united action of organized labor and the Negro community, to join the struggles of the working class with the struggle for Black liberation.

Basic responsibility for organizing the unorganized, in particular for organizing the South, rests on the already organized sections of the working class. Such organizing efforts have already begun, largely in response to local initiative and rank-and-file actions. What is needed is a national crusade, involving community and other forces and developing special organizational forms where necessary.

Communists and the Labor Movement

The times call for a new resurgence of labor. The foundations of such a resurgence are already laid. The developments already noted give evidence that the time is indeed at hand for a renewed growth and invigoration of the U.S. labor movement.

Integral to any labor resurgence is a revitalization of its Left and Communist components and revival of democracy in its ranks. In the creative development of program and policy, in pioneer initiatives to break new ground, men and women of the Left and Communists in particular have been invaluable in all past periods of labor resurgence.

Communists also help to kindle the idealism, the human concern that has endowed labor with great moral authority and has enhanced its power to attract other sectors of the population. And in

introducing the vital element of socialist consciousness into the labor movement, of the perspective of labor's ultimate victory over capital, they help create the firmest base against all the ideological weapons employed by capital to weaken or divide labor.

Once liberated from the bonds of "class partnership," once labor asserts its political independence and confronts its corporate enemies as a class in the political arena, once the organization of added millions is a reality, labor can fulfill its destiny as the leading and most dynamic force in a new anti-monopoly alignment of the people of the United States, and as that force which will lead them to socialism.

The Black Liberation Movement

The struggle for Black liberation in the United States is today the central, most crucial issue before the entire working class and its allies.

The call for "Black liberation" reaffirms the historical goal of full and unconditional economic, political and social equality for Afro-Americans. More, it calls for recognition by white allies that full freedom can be established *only on such terms and in such forms as seem proper to the Black people themselves.* The Black liberation movement is at the very heart of the struggle against U.S. imperialism, for the freeing of oppressed peoples must be realized to assure the full freedom of all working people.

Roots and Nature of Afro-American Oppression

From the 17th century up to the Civil War, the Black people brought to this country as slaves came mainly from tribal formations of the "Negroid" people of West Africa. Their distinctive racial characteristics have been used to develop many pseudo-scientific theories of Black "racial inferiority" to justify racism and national oppression.

White supremacist racism arose to justify the slave trade. Thus began the arguments for the alleged inferiority and subhuman character of Africans to justify their enslavement.

When slavery in the United States came under attack, the slave

owners and their sympathizers developed this further into an entire body of racist thought and practice. History, biology, psychology, anthropology, religion and philosophy—all were bent to the service of racist propaganda. This body of racist mythology is the foundation of present-day white chauvinism—white racism.

Even though many claim to reject this racist ideology, after 350 years of indoctrination the myth of white supremacy still rules the attitudes of most white Americans. It makes the white workers susceptible to the "divide and rule" tactics of their exploiters. From the big monopolies and bankers to the landlords and small businessmen, the entire business community profits from and promotes racism and discrimination today.

Although Afro-Americans are oppressed as a people, all the economic classes of capitalist society are to be found among them. Some Black people are working farmers; a small percentage belong to the urban middle class as professionals and small businessmen; an even smaller percentage are capitalists. But in their overwhelming majority—well over 90 per cent—they are part of the working class. Hence, Black Americans are triply oppressed: because of race; as workers; as a people.

Oppression of Afro-Americans as a people extends to every area of economic, political, social and cultural life.

In their national characteristics, Afro-Americans are distinguished first of all by their long history of oppression and resistance to oppression. This common experience, regardless of class, educational background or geographical area, is expressed culturally in the development of a rich and growing body of literature, music and other artistic creation.

Manifested in the struggle against national oppression today is the prideful reclamation of Black history, reflected in the saying "Black is beautiful and it's beautiful to be Black." There is a new self-identity as a people, a racial pride and dignity, and a growing number of Black organizations joining the militant struggle for freedom and equality.

Forms of Oppression by the Ruling Class Today

Race is not the only distinguishing characteristic of Afro-Ameri-

cans. But it plays a dominant role in the ability of capitalism to exercise its oppression. Centuries of instilling the idea that "black" is synonymous with 'inferior" make it easier for the capitalist class to single out Afro-Americans for superexploitation. It is a convenient badge by which to identify the victim.

Shortly after the turn of the century, Black people began their exodus from the fields of the rural South to the urban centers of the country—and this is a process that continues to this day. At present, the majority of Black Americans live in cities.

Nevertheless, there are still large numbers of landless southern farmers, whose problem is largely a land problem. A few farmers who nominally own the land they work on are little better off. They are under the thumb of creditors, are threatened by agribusiness competitors and by the economic and social consequences of mechanization. Mechanization and lack of opportunity have driven a huge percentage of young men and women to the nearby southern cities and on to northern and western ghettos. It is estimated that by 1970, 95 per cent of the 15-24 year age group will be gone from the countryside.

Yet in two southern states the rural population numbers over 60 per cent of the total; in three states, 50 per cent; and in five states, 40 per cent. In these rural areas are large numbers, on farms or in small towns, who comprise a mass of unemployed or underemployed "surplus" labor. One-half of the nation's poverty—black and white, is concentrated in the South. Here, more than anywhere else, the situation of the poor whites is comparable to that of the Black people. Here, too, the capitalist class has been most successful in dividing black and white.

The disfranchisement of Afro-Americans in the South through outright denial of voting rights, threats, fraud, trickery and gerrymandering results in a government loaded at all levels with the most racist, reactionary, labor-hating officials. Many of these control major Congressional committees, where they play a reactionary role affecting the entire country.

Moving from the coutryside to the cities has not produced for Black people any truly meaningful improvement in their economic and social conditions. At certain times they have been able to battle

their way in significant numbers into industry but always, when the job market shrank, they were the first laid off. And this pattern continues up to the present.

Today the cities are no longer lands of opportunity. Denied access to opportunity and the chance to compete on an equal basis, Black men and women face a veritable crisis of survival.

The whole complex system of oppression of the Afro-American people has as its primary objective the enrichment of the giant monopolies which own and control the country's productive resources. Black people live in misery because of capitalism, because racial oppression is enormously profitable.

Capitalism uses tax money to subsidize railroads and airlines and for highways that benefit the automobile monopolies, rather than to provide cheap mass for transportation. Government subsidies go to profitable high-income urban housing that excludes the masses of Black people, rather than to good housing for low-income families. Billions go to the war industries, to the oil and other monopolies, rather than to improve the decaying school system, to improve horribly inadequate hospital and public health facilities, to provide decent medical care for all, and to make available adequate recreational and cultural facilities. All this hits the working class with special force, and the masses of Black, Puerto Rican and Chicano workers even harder.

It is true that the struggles of the past decade have brought certain legislative changes and some economic gains for a small minority. There has been an increase in the number of Black voters. The drive for meaningful political power and representation has heightened.

Thus far, however, the intent of the gains won has been flouted by the power structure. While some Black representatives in legislative bodies have been able to speak to the needs of the Black people's movement, they have been prevented from using their positions for real change.

The most obvious symbols of U.S.-style apartheid have been removed. But the gains registered are largely "legal guarantees" which are not enforced or made real in day-to-day life. In public services and social needs—housing, schools, medical care etc., the gains have

also been mainly token ones. The end of statutory discrimination has yet to affect the basic living conditions of Black people. At the same time the conditions and future of Black people relate directly and inevitably to those of the working class as a whole. *The struggle against racism, then, is a central part of the class struggle and the basic question facing the entire country today.*

What Can Be Won Under Capitalism

We Communists say that capitalism must be eliminated to attain full freedom and equality. Capitalism is a system incapable of solving the basic problems facing American working people—black or white. It is a system in which dog-eat-dog competition marks the daily lives of individuals. Racism serves as a pillar of its existence. Such a system holds no hope or promise. Only a socialist system does so. That generation which sees capitalism's end and its replacement by socialism will be the first to have the tools necessary to eradicate racist oppression.

Racism and racial oppression are not inherent in socialist society. On the contrary they are a detriment to its development. Hence, such a society can fully meet the aspirations of Black people. A socialist society will be bound by its very basis to honor their national aspirations.

To eradicate oppression, the treatment accorded an oppressed group within the nation cannot be based on mere "equality." It must be preferential and allow speedy overcoming of deficiencies created by past oppression. Under socialism, those previously oppressed will collect the "back pay" due them from the days of capitalism. This the working class must guarantee.

In these terms, we believe there is much in the way of remedial action that can and must be undertaken even under a dying capitalism. While we reject any "gradualist" position, the situation of the masses of Black Americans, being critical, calls for immediate radical measures to halt deterioration and bring about pronounced improvement. These include:

First, radical reallocation of the nation's resources to provide special and preferential allotments for the economic development

of communities and regions in which Black people reside.

Second, achievement of political power by Black people at least commensurate with their needs and their special requirements as an oppressed people.

Third, elimination of racist ideology through a most determined, resolute struggle.

That national pride which seeks to build and strengthen cohesion among Black people, to reclaim Black history, culture and heritage, to instill a sense of pride and dignity in being Black, and which identifies with the working class and other oppressed peoples, is a vital function of leadership for successfully waging the struggle for equality and liberation. Because of the national character of Black people in the United States, Communists see the necessity of united struggle of all classes of Black people against their common oppressor.

On the political front, at all levels of government, electoral districts must be redrawn to provide representation for Black communities. Historically, gerrymandering has been used to divide communities and maintain political control of the people in the hands of those representing the power structure. But what is needed is to unite communities, to guarantee that Black people will be represented at least in proportion to their numbers. It can provide an effective way for Black people to determine who represents them and to exercise some control over their elected representatives.

Partial winning of the right to vote in the South has opened up new forms of struggle. Here, Black political control assumes special importance. In many areas it could lead at once to the election of Black mayors, sheriffs, councilmen, assessors and other officials, and to appointment of Black superintendents of schools and police chiefs. In general, it could lead to completion of the attainment of bourgeois-democratic rights in the South, which had been cut short by the betrayal of Reconstruction in 1876.

The establishment of Black control over Black communities and counties in the South would result in retiring some of the most reactionary elements from Congress and from state, county and municipal governments throughout the southern states. Black people and poor people in general would be in a position to make substantial

changes in policies governing the development of natural resources. They would also be in a position drastically to overhaul the present tax structure which robs the poor for the benefit of the rich. Much-needed land reform for the benefit of millions of Black people who live in the rural South would become possible. The educational system would be radically improved. All this would vastly enhance the struggle for democracy throughout the country.

Those who seek a new political alignment in the United States, a people's party opposed to the old two-party system and to a racist front for domestic fascism, must recognize that such a party cannot be built and sustained and made relevant to the country's needs without seeing first of all the necessity for participation of Black people, particularly Black working-class people, as an indispensable component. And Black people will not break with the two-party system on the basis of mere promises or rhetoric.

Communists encourage all Black political initiatives, caucuses and other independent political formations at the local and national levels that are created by and speak to the needs of the Black masses, wherever the people find them necessary for the advancement of Black freedom.

That national pride which seeks to build and strengthen cohesion among Black people, to reclaim Black history, culture and heritage, to instill a sense of pride and dignity in being Black, and which identifies with the working class and other oppressed peoples, is a vital function of leadership for successfully waging the struggle for equality and liberation. Because of the national character of Black people in the United States, Communists see the necessity of united struggle of all classes of Black people against their common oppressor.

The struggles of the Black people in the United States, as we have seen, increasingly take on the character of a struggle for power, a struggle in which they aspire to a determining voice in the decisions affecting their own lives as well as an equal voice with others in the affairs of the nation.

The Communist Party fully associates itself with these aspirations. Even though Black people do not now constitute a nation, we do not place any limitations on their struggle to satisfy their

aspirations up to and including their right to develop self-government and to exercise the right of self-determination. Moreover, we work to create conditions for the expression of these rights, free from all social, economic, political, cultural and legal restrictions.

New Forms in the Black Freedom Movement

Until such time as their political interests can be fully expressed and their rights fully guaranteed through a radically changed political and governmental structure, Black people must themselves strive to secure community forms of control in matters affecting their lives. Community control of schools, Black police for Black communities, and programs for housing, economic development and social services in the interest of Black masses are necessary forms which have been initiated by the Black liberation movement. They should receive full support of both black and white people.

With the growth of Black militancy, pride and consciousness, there has developed a wide range of all-Black organizations. Such groupings within interracial organizations, institutions and communities reflect the failure of the whites involved to face up to the special problems confronting their Black fellow-members. They play an important role, especially within the labor movement.

In supporting these forms, we reject the notion that Black freedom can be won without white allies. In industry, Black workers find a common interest with white workers in struggle against capitalist exploitation. Working-class unity is essential in the struggle aganist monopoly domination.

So long as Black workers are discriminated against in hiring and upgrading, so long as they are kept in the dirtiest, most unhealthy and worst paying jobs, so long as they are denied positions of union leadership, there can be no real union democracy and no real labor unity. Those who fight to eliminate inequality of Black workers in labor's ranks are builders of unity; those who resist that fight create division in labor's ranks.

Black caucuses in unions are needed also to bring the organized strength, discipline, militancy of Black workers to the the entire Black freedom movement.

The Fight for Jobs

Among the most pressing problems facing Black people is securing jobs at their highest skills with equal pay for equal work. It is here that Black men and women face most directly the realities of capitalism as a system. Capitalism cannot guarantee full employment. Unemployment in the ghettos soars far above the national average. The struggle to eliminate the color bar to jobs and job training is a life-and-death struggle for Black Americans. This involves an all-out struggle to eliminate discrimination and double standards in industry and in the practices of many unions. It also involves maximum political and economic mobilization for achievement of a federal jobs program, with special emphasis on relieving the depressed conditions in the Black communities.

At the same time, we must reject the currently projected programs for building a "Black capitalism" as an answer to the economic problems of Black people. These are pure tokenism, designed to benefit only a tiny minority. Their purpose is to establish a limited group of small businesses, under the thumb of the big monopoly corporations. These would then serve as an instrument for maintaining the status quo in the Black communities and to create illusions in capitalism as a way out. More meaningful would be the establishment of business and housing cooperatives run on a nonprofit basis for the benefit of their members.

Education: The Fight for Community Control

Today the educational system of the United States falls far short of what is required to meet the demands of a new technological era, and in many ways the situation is worsening. This is doubly true for the Black communities.

One notable achievement of the Reconstruction period, when people's power—black and white—existed, was the establishment on the insistence of the newly-freed slaves of a free public educational system eventually extending to the entire South. But decisions affecting the quality of education in the communities have slipped farther and farther away from the people living in those communities. It is

increasingly evident that school systems do not sufficiently relate to, let alone minister to the needs of working-class communities. In Black communities they perpetuate racism, provide only minimal opportunities, and more often than not they consciously retard the educational development of the Black child. Consequently, after fruitless struggles to force a change through the existing structure, there has come the demand, particularly in Black communities, for community control and operation of the local schools.

Such control will not only benefit those particular communities; it will also serve as an impetus to the betterment of schools in all communities. Community control means the power to select principals, teachers and other school personnel. It means a decisive voice in selecting locations of new schools, choosing teaching and supervisory personnel, planning curricula, choosing textbooks. All this is consistent with the best principles of trade unionism. Indeed, the realization of such community control demands an alliance of teachers and their organizations with the Black community.

Community Control of Police

As the rebellions of the poor and disinherited have multiplied, a hue and cry has arisen over "law and order." Across the land, urban police departments have been greatly swelled and combat-armed. National Guards and federal troops have been given "riot control" and combat training. Ultra-Right vigilante groups are being formed. Shoot-on-sight legislation directed against Black people is being enacted. A whole new industry for the development of chemical warfare has come into being. All this for maintaining so-called "domestic peace."

The growing influence of the ultra-Right in police departments throughout the country marks a new and critical stage of the struggle. It constitutes such a clear and present danger of outright genocidal attack upon the Afro-American people that it demands urgent measures for community defense and for exposing and counteracting racist propaganda in all guises in white communities.

Most ghetto uprisings have been deliberately provoked by police harassment, brutality and murder in the Black communities.

Under capitalism the primary function of police, black or white,

is not protection of human beings, but protection of property. Nevertheless, the demand that policemen in a Black community should be mainly Black people who live in that community and are subject to its approval is a democratic demand which must be supported. A policeman who lives in the community must answer to it. Moreover, this can serve as a means for breaking the back of organized racism in police departments.

Violence is being increasingly used against Black people. And the blame is put on the victim rather than on the real instigators and practitioners of violence—the police.

We Communists are not pacifists. Nor are we terrorists. We view violence from a class standpoint. Accordingly we regard non-violence as a tactic of struggle in some instances. But we do not adhere to it as a principle or a philosophy. As long as racists, in or out of uniform, are allowed to beat and murder with impunity, it is not only a right but a duty of Black people to defend themselves. White people and white Communists in particular must stand shoulder to shoulder with their Black brothers in whatever means of defense are necessary against such violence.

Self-defense must be coupled with massive educational and organizational campaigns in white communities on the nature of police violence and repression in Black communities and on the need to join in fighting them.

For Black-White Unity

Monopoly capital strives to divide black and white workers, the better to exploit both. We Communists accept the challenge to do everything we can to foster unity of black and white. This must be under taken on that level at which the people themselves, black and white, see the problems. The Afro-Americans will continue their fight for freedom—a fight to save America. White Americans, especially working people, must rise to their responbility and join the fight. The merging of these two forces is the key to the advance of the country as a whole.

Chicano Liberation

Among those doubly oppressed and exploited are some eight

million Mexican-American people—Chicanos—who make up the largest single section of the working class of the Southwest. They are victims of the most severe racist, chauvinist forms of oppression.

The average income of Chicanos is barely half that of Anglo-Americans. More than one-third subsist in deep poverty. Laredo, Texas, has the distinction of being the poorest city in the United States. Chicanos are subjected to severe job discrimination, and their rate of unemployment is well over double the national average. Many are confined to rural or urban slums. Living in the worst areas of the cities, often without sewers or paved streets, they suffer grossly inferior conditions of health, education and social welfare. They rank highest in deaths from infant diarrhea and tuberculosis.

Chicano children are not only compelled to go to grossly inferior schools but are also denied an education in the language they speak at home. Thus they are doubly deprived of their right to adequate education.

Chicanos are constant victims of brutality at the hands of the police, of the Texas Rangers who are used as strike-breakers against both brown and white workers, and of the armed thugs of agribusiness. And the number of Chicanos killed in Vietnam is double their percentage in the U.S. population. This conforms to the racist, genocidal character of the war itself.

Spanish settlers were in the Southwest before the English founded the Atlantic Coast colonies that became the United States. When the territory of the Southwest became part of Mexico, the people in this area became Mexican citizens, whose common language was Spanish. In 1848, Mexico was defeated in the bloody war of aggression unleashed by southern slaveholders supported by northern capitalists. The area of the five states of the Southwest was then annexed to the United States.

In the oppressive annexationist treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at the end of the war, Mexicans residing in this territory were guaranteed, on paper, "enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States according to the principles of the Constitution; and [to] be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their

liberty and property." But the treaty was violated. These promises were broken just as in the case of Indian treaties. For more than a century the Mexican-American people have been struggling to regain their lost freedoms in their own homeland.

Their struggles center around their rights as a national minority to equality in employment, free exercise of their language and culture, use of their land, political representation, equality in education, freedom from police brutality and an end to discrimination in the courts and all other forms of oppression. More, they strive for their dignity and aspirations as a people, for an end to racist oppression and degradation, for freedom to determine their own destiny.

Far from becoming assimilated, this oppressed national minority is constantly refreshed by large-scale immigration of Mexican workers to the United States in search of employment. Such immigration is encouraged by big business, which finds in it a source of cheap labor and extra profits. Nowhere else on the American scene is there such inhuman exploitation of the working masses.

Today, the struggle for the rights and national dignity of Chicanos is making an increasing impact on U.S. political and economic institutions. Chicano workers have been the backbone of every significant labor struggle in the area. They founded the first successful agricultural union in California—a turning point for the working class in the Southwest. From these struggles a growing corps of experienced, militant working-class leaders has emerged, who are spearheading the organization of agricultural workers throughout the Southwest.

Chicanos share many common problems with the Black and Indian peoples in the Southwest; growing unity is developing in their struggles. Joint action on many issues is increasingly common. This must be further expanded. Joint action is also necessary with the industrial unions in the North since runaway shops are moving into the area south of the Mexican-U.S. border.

The Communist Party fully supports and joins in the struggles of the Chicano workers for organization, for jobs, for an end to discrimination, for decent wages and working conditions, for solidarity with their brothers and sisters across the Rio Grande.

We support the Chicano people in their struggles for land and water, against the monopoly corporations which have seized these for their own exploitation. We support their struggles against the federal government which holds vast land reserves for grazing and mining operations of the rich, and against the military which uses tens of thousands of square miles to prepare aggression and genocide against peoples in other lands.

We support the fight of the Chicanos for equal status for the Spanish language in education and in public life and institutions in all areas of large Spanish-speaking populations. We support their struggles for community control of schools. We call for greater attention to the history and culture of Chicanos and for emphasis on their contributions to the building of our country. We call for the upholding of their national dignity and an end to their public ridicule in advertising and elsewhere.

We support the Alianza struggles to recover the land grants under the treaty of Guadelupe Hidalgo, which the U.S. government has persistently violated.

Puerto Rican Liberation

More than a million Puerto Ricans live in the United States, the overwhelming majority in New York City. They are confined to slum ghettos rivaling in squalor and misery those in which Black Americans and Chicanos are forced to live. They are subjected to all the same forms of discrimination and oppression. Comparative newcomers to this country from a U.S. colony, faced with a language barrier, they suffer the greatest exploitation and occupy the lowest rungs on the economic ladder.

They are concentrated in the hardest, lowest-paying jobs, in unorganized sweatshop industries. Many are migrant farm workers. They are subjected to the extortions of slumlords, unscrupulous businessmen and loan sharks. They are constantly the object of police brutality. And their sons, too, from both the U.S. and Puerto Rico, are sent in disproportionate numbers to be killed in Vietnam. Within Puerto Rico the draft glaringly symbolizes imperialist rule. Like the Chicanos, they suffer deprivation of the use of their own

language and even outright attempts to suppress it. Thus, free access to their cultural heritage is restricted and basic civil rights —the right to vote, the right to serve on juries, the right to an education, the right to a job, still are effectively denied them.

Puerto Ricans struggle militantly for equality, dignity, a decent life and respect for their language, history and culture. In New York together with Black workers, they form the core of major unions. They have pioneered in fighting for union standards and elimination of sub-minimum wages and inhuman working conditions. They have pioneered also in organization of hospital and other service workers.

Oppressive treatment of the Puerto Rican people and other peoples of Latin American origin within the United States is but a domestic extension of U.S. imperialist domination and exploitation of Latin America itself. The status of Puerto Ricans in this country is but a reflection of the status of Puerto Rico as a U.S. colony. The struggle against U.S. imperialism in the Western Hemisphere therefore inspires and reinforces the fight for equality, dignity and justice by Spanish-speaking minorities in this country. To fight for the independence of Puerto Rico is to fight for an end to the treatment of her people as colonials in U.S. slums.

The Communist Party participates in and supports the struggles of the Puerto Rican people for the independence of Puerto Rico. It supports their struggles for jobs, union organization, decent wages and working conditions, quality unsegregated housing, community control over their schools, an end to police brutality.

The Communist Party supports their demand for equality of the Spanish language in public life and education in New York City and every other area with a large, Spanish-speaking population.

Indian Liberation

American capitalism's crimes against the Indian nations long foreshadowed those of Hitler, of South Africa, of U.S. imperialism against the Vietnamese people. America's rulers robbed the Indians of their lands, decimated their numbers through genocidal warfare and infection with disease. They forced the survivors onto

barren reservations, deprived them of all political rights and means of livelihood. For 400 years they have been victims of the most brutal, inhuman oppression. Of all claims of oppressed peoples, theirs are the longest-standing.

In earlier times the Indians, led by such heroic figures as Sitting Bull and Geronimo, organized armed resistance against overwhelming odds. At the same time, the Indian people have fought for nearly two centuries to bring their grievances before the U.S. government and white America. Today, they fight to regain their freedom through political action, in alliance with other anti-monopoly forces.

Modern mass struggles range from the successful defense of the Lumbee Indians against racist forces to the fish-ins of the Nisqually tribe and the campaign of the Taos Indians for their traditional lands. Many battles are also fought in the courts and legislatures. In short, the struggle of the Indian people for their rights and their dignity proceeds on many fronts.

The Communist Party gives its full support to the struggles and demands of the Indian people including the following:

Indian control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Representation on all levels of political decision-making, especially in states with large Indian populations. Local autonomy in areas of Indian majority.

Honoring of all broken treaties by grants of choice land areas, mineral resources and cash indemnities, fully allowing for inflation of land and other values since the treaties were signed and including compensation for the crimes committed against the Indian people. Safeguarding of existing reservations, trust lands and traditional Indian lands against further loss.

Concession of title of all native peoples including the Eskimos of Alaska to their land, instead of giving this land to oil and other monopolies.

All-around assistance to the Indian peoples in safeguarding their existence as peoples and in preserving and developing their cultures, including written languages, art and literature.

Provision of the highest quality education and health facilities.

Assistance in achieving decent living standards on the reservations.

Access to job training and employment at normal wages and conditions and at all occupational levels.

Mandatory teaching of Indian history, whose writers include Indians, in the public schools.

In the long-range view the key question is that of restoration to the Indian peoples of the full rights to national development of which they have been historically deprived. Paramount in this is the land question. Restoration of land is a recognition of the historic rights of Indians as the original inhabitants of this continent. With this goes recognition of right of autonomy in specified areas and of the right to proper representation in state and federal governments. This approach represents the minimum required in the light of the crimes committed against the American Indians.

The Jewish People

Chauvinism and racism are basic weapons in the capitalist arsenal. The American capitalist class, predominantly white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, has used these weapons against successive waves of immigrant workers from Europe, in addition to the more savage forms of racism practiced against peoples of darker skin. An especially persistent and barbaric form of chauvinism is anti-Semitism, which has always served as a major weapon of reaction.

Today, the Jewish population of the United States—the world's largest—numbers six million. Of these, about half live in New York City. As in all groups, among the Jewish people there are representatives of all classes. But the great majority of Jewish people are wage and salaried workers and professionals whose objective interests are linked with those of other anti-monopoly forces. Indeed, throughout our history the Jewish people have been especially numerous among fighters for labor's rights, progress, reform and social revolution.

With the upsurge of the rabid ultra-Right in the United States, violently anti-Semitic propaganda has risen. Desecration of synagogues and other anti-Semitic actions have become common. Financed by the dollars of "respectable" monopoly corporations and finding fertile soil in the "respectable" anti-Semitism expressed in

discrimination against Jews in employment, housing and other areas, the ultra-Right purveyors of racism and anti-Semitism create an ever-present threat of a violent flare-up of anti-Semitic actions.

The fight against monopoly capital calls for the rallying of all forces for the eradication of anti-Semitism. Toward this end, we advocate that all manifestations of racism, including anti-Semitism, be legally outlawed.

The Fight Against Racism

Ruthless exploitation of "peoples of color" in the capitalist world exists not because of their non-white racial features but because of the basic nature of capitalism as a system of exploitation. Racism —doctrines and practices of defamation and oppression of one people by another—is the major means that the capitalist class uses to justify superexploitation and plundering of other peoples.

The U.S. ruling class employs racism as an instrument for justifying robbery and oppression of Black people, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans and Indians in this country. It is used to justify oppression of the peoples of its colonies—Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and other Pacific islands—and of the masses in its spheres of economic domination in Latin America, Asia and Africa. Racism is U.S. capitalism's ideological smokescreen for covering its crimes against all these peoples and diverting the hatred and opposition of its victims from itself.

Racist practices and the pretensions of white supremacy serve to foster hatred and division between white workers and their Black and Brown brothers; yet *all* are victims of a common exploiter. Monopoly capital preys on growing economic insecurity among workers, an insecurity which capitalism itself creates. Capitalism relies on racism to sustain its rule.

Racism and the struggle against it have deep roots in our history. Throughout its years, American capitalism has depended on racist ideology and practices for the accumulation of its wealth. Racism was the ruling class rationalization for its genocidal slaughter of the Indian peoples, the original inhabitants of this land. Racism was the rationalization for the barbarous but lucrative capitalist enter-

prise of trading in human beings, for the system of slavery using Black men, women and children as chattels. After the abolition of slavery, racism proved flexible enough to adjust its doctrines and practices. It supplied capitalism with the system of segregation and discrimination, a new variation of the same anti-science of white racist supremacy.

Racism operates as a body of laws, traditions, customs, theories and prejudices. It embodies widespread, multi-faceted practice of systematic violation of the political, economic, social and cultural rights and the dignity of Black Americans and other oppressed minorities as peoples—as national entities—and as individual citizens and human beings. It is so ingrained and institutionalized in our society that no one escapes its evil influences or effects.

The systematic robbery and discrimination practiced by the ruling class nets it billions in extra profits, both from direct super-exploitation of the Black people and from the destructive competition between Black and white workers which results. Racism is used to rob not only Black workers but white workers as well. Thus, white workers in the South are paid much less for comparable work than those in the North.

But the true interests of all workers, the strength of the working class and the promise of its deliverance from oppression lie in realization of the closest unity and fraternity. For white workers race hatred, despising their Black and Brown brothers and joining in discriminating against them, or failing to join the struggle racism and discrimination, serves only the interests of their own worst enemy—the monopolist exploiters of all workers. By promoting strife and division among the masses, racism weakens their struggles. It prolongs the life of capitalism in this age of its deepening general crisis.

The fight to root out racism demands a continuing and vastly sharper struggle to demolish every barrier that stands between the Black and Brown people of our country and their full economic, political and social equality and unfettered participation in the life and affairs of the nation. Above all, it must be unyielding in the effort to end job discrimination and to eliminate every measure,

no matter how concealed, that denies Black and Brown workers their full democratic rights and powers in trade unions affairs.

But the fight against racism goes beyond economic questions. It is also a fight for human dignity and for the humanist ideal of the brotherhood of all working people. It is a fight to liberate white Americans from the degrading, corrupting effects of racism on themselves.

Class consciousness begins with recognition of the fundamental comunity interests of Black and white workers.

The fight against racism does not stop at our national borders. It includes the struggle against the racist oppression and racist wars of aggression visited by U.S. imperialism on peoples all over the world.

The Communist Party, as the vanguard organization of the working class, must attain an especially sharp edge of alertness and sensitivity. It must root out even the slightest reflection of racist prejudice or white supremacist notions within its ranks.

Communists are called upon to be bold, courageous and in the forefront of all struggles to rout racism and racists from the labor movement and from the economic, political and social life of the nation. They must be tireless in the ideological field, combatting all racist myths, all racist arrogance, exclusiveness and prejudice. They must fight to teach the scientific truth that all peoples are equal and to expose the utter falsity of all concepts of racial superiority or inferiority. And they must show that it is the enemy, monopoly capital, which originates and spreads these falsehoods in order to profit by them.

Allies Against Monopoly

Youth, women, farmers, small businessmen, intellectuals and professionals—each is in its own way affected by the tyranny of big business. At the same time, in most of these groups a great majority are either actually or potentially members of the working class. Hence their interests as special social strata overlap with their interests as wage or salaried workers. Their ties to the working class in the struggle against monopoly are twofold.

The Youth

The younger generation represents a vast anti-monopoly potential. Young people, whose life experience begins with the present historical period, are most profoundly influenced by the new world balance of forces with its dramatic revolutionary potential. In addition, young people are hit with particular severity by the problems created by the crisis of capitalism.

In the war in Vietnam, in the maintenance of some 3,000 overseas military bases, in the occupation of West Germany and other countries, young men are put into uniform. Youth are therefore subjected to constant militarization and war propaganda. They live under the shadow of the draft and war. They are the first generation in U.S. history to know conscription as the normal way of life. They are the first to live only under the nuclear cloud. Yet young people considered old enough to fight are denied the right to vote by those who force them into uniforms.

Today, half or more of all workers in industry are young workers. They are relatively unaffected by the intimidation of the McCarthyite years, relatively free of illusions about "company generosity" or the sacredness of the authority of union leaders. They are especially hit by problems of job security, training for higher skills and by high prices and taxes. The men among them face the special problem of the draft.

These young workers come to maturity with a greater sense of kinship with all other groups oppressed by monopoly. Increasingly they take the lead in the militant struggles of labor. They are destined to play an historic role in revitalizing organized labor and in helping to bring forth a grand labor-led alliance of the people against monopoly power.

Millions of youth are hemmed in by invisible ghetto walls, under constant threat of racist police clubs and arbitrary imprisonment. They are kept outside the nation's productive activity, deprived of the right to learn, to work, to build a family and to live in equality with others. The militant youth of the ghettos are raising the call to struggle. They are helping to stimulate the all-around development of the black and brown peoples' liberation move-

ments.

The student population grows apace as modern technique requires ever higher levels of education. The college student body now includes a rising proportion of youth from families of workers.

The objective class and human interests of the great majority of students are opposed to those of the monopolists. Big business has tightened its grip on the school system. It seeks to mold students into docile, efficient profit producers and propagandists for its rule. It would wipe out progressive ideals and the striving for truth among young people. It converts colleges into education mills, turning out standardized, rubber-stamp products. It strives to eradicate traditional concern for truth and intellectual searching and to restrict academic freedom. It maintains and fosters racist patterns in education.

Indeed, no aspect of the crisis of capitalism is more evident than its increasing inability to measure up to the needs of our children and youth. This crisis is the culmination of the conflicts engendered by our class system of educaton. On the one hand, the working people of our country have fought for universal free education as essential to their democratic aspirations; on the other hand, the capitalist class has striven to limit education to the bare needs of the capitalist economy, to confine it to the training of a docile work force. Capitalism provides one kind of education for sons and daughters of workers, another for those of the middle and upper classes. Adding to the crisis in education are the archaic tax system and the demands of the war economy, both serving the interests of the ruling class.

But students in the United States, as in much of the capitalist world, are rising against this monopoly domination of education. They are not only fighting for their specific needs as students, but are increasingly sparking the popular struggles against war and racism.

Young people in general are subjected to a common economic, political and social oppression. Hence they are not only involved in the struggles of other classes and social strata of which they are a part, they represent a special force capable of uniting in a broad coalition in pursuit of common interests. In this united force

young workers have an especially important role.

The crisis which confronts youth reveals the depths of the crisis which confronts the entire society. A society which offers so little future to its youth itself has no future. Hence, imbedded in the many-sided rebellion of the young people is a deep-rooted and increasingly expressed realization of the need for fundamental social change.

Youth displays vitality, initiative, daring and idealism. To be effective instruments of social change, these qualities must be employed not blindly, but with understanding of the forces in conflict. That which capitalist society denies youth can only be reclaimed in battle against monopoly domination, in alliance with the working class. We advocate:

Abolition of the draft.

Insurance of the right of every young person to a full education through provision of adequate stipends beginning at the high school level, through provision of sufficient facilities, and through the abolition of all forms of discrimination in admission.

Breaking of big business control over the schools. Establishment of community control over lower and middle schools and democratic control over colleges and universities, including control over educational content and forms by scientists and educators themselves. Federal financing of all colleges and universities.

Exclusion from school curricula of all material fostering anti-labor, racist, militarist, anti-Communist and other reactionary ideologies.

Adoption of curricula and textbooks which emphasize the true role and history of labor, the contributions of black and brown peoples to U.S. history, culture and wealth and other aspects of progressive ideology.

Abolition of all military use of schools and colleges, including ROTC and military research.

A government job program to provide jobs at good wages for all youth on leaving school, apprenticeship, etc., or adequate compensation until work is secured.

Reduction of the voting age to 18.

Women

Monopoly capitalism has greatly accentuated the age-old oppression of women.

Women play a decisive role in our society—they are an integral and growing part of the labor force. By thus drawing women into the system of social production, capitalism has brought them into the arena of struggle as wage workers. They play a growing part in social and political struggles and in their leadership. This creates new possibilities for advance in the struggles of all workers —men and women. They suffer severe discrimination as workers. As mothers they carry endless burdens of housework and child care. This problem is especially bitter for the ghetto mothers, many of whom are trapped in the welfare system with its built-in erosion of the family.

Women are subjected to political discrimination. Almost fifty years after winning the right to vote, there are only twelve women in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate.

Women are victims of social abuse. The mass media portray them as creatures of emotion, short on reasoning power and dependent on men. They are made the butt of jokes or—most prevalent and profitable of all—they are used as a seductive lure in advertising. But history is repudiating these libels.

Women are in the thick of all major contemporary struggles. American women have shouldered the main burden of the great struggle for peace. Women lead the struggles for better schools, against monopoly. What is required is to create the conditions in system, against poverty and starvation. They are a powerful force against monopoly. What is required is to create the conditions n which the special talents and the great reservoir of strength which women offer can be fully released, and to fight for their unrestricted participation in leadership.

It is necessary to combat the myth of women's inferiority and the all too prevalent ideology of male supremacy which is the ruling-class instrument for maintaining special exploitation of women and must be fought on this basis. Men especially must join

in the struggle to bring this about. The strengths and talents of women will be contributed to the struggle to the degree that male supremacist ideas are fought.

The Communist Party will fight for the full equality of women and will seek the unity of all workers to this end.

We call for equality of women with men in employment and pay, with special provisions for women workers, including paid maternity leaves and adequate child-care facilities.

We call for government dependency grants and other assistance to strengthen and preserve families. We demand an end to inhuman welfare regulations and other devices used to break up families of the poor. We support the unequivocal right of women to determine the size of their families.

We support a nation-wide system of government-financed free child care under community control.

It is necessary to end the degrading and insulting of women in the mass communications media.

Complete access to higher education and choice of career must be opened to women, as well as promotion to leadership in all spheres.

The Professional-Intellectual Community

Monopoly has extended its sway also within the expanding intellectual-professional community. Growing numbers have been placed within the class orbit of workers.

Intellectuals thus find themselves pitted in elementary economic conflict with corporate power, a conflict expressed in the growth of union organization among them. Organization and strikes by teachers have become widespread. Particularly significant are the beginnings of organization among scientists, technicians and engineers. These comprise the most rapidly expanding sector of the intellectual-professional group and moreover they are engaged directly in the productive process. They are making a significant contribution in the struggle for peace, freedom and democracy.

Intellectuals are subject to other conflicts, often more telling than economic conflicts. Everywhere the product and promise of

human intellect are debased and perverted by monopoly for its anti-social ends. The industrial-military complex seeks to use the country's best brains for developing means of annihilation. Monopoly strives to utilize intellectuals as spokesmen for spreading its reactionary ideology. More, monopoly—decaying capitalism—seeks increasingly to deny reason itself, to subvert science, to promote irrationalism—a process which every honest intellectual is compelled to resist.

But intellectuals are not, as some think, an independent class force. In economic fact and mutuality of interest, professional workers merge increasingly with the working class. Simultaneously, the rising general educational level diminishes the cultural-intellectual gap between professional and other workers.

Intellectuals play a progressive role not as an isolated force, but in common with the principal engines of social progress—labor and its allies—in their assault upon monopoly power.

Intellectuals have an added responsibility. They are called upon to combat the use by monopoly of mass communications, education, literature and the arts to propagate its reactionary, racist, aggressive ideas.

Small Business

Small business—an elastic term stretching from the corner grocer to firms employing hundreds of workers—also experiences and resists the aggression of monopoly in varying forms and degrees.

Its position is an unstable one. On the one hand it is led to defend the conditions of capitalist production that inevitably give rise to monopoly. On the other hand its struggle for existence pits it against the rapacious practices of monopoly. Hence it vacillates, striking out now at monopoly, now at the working class.

From the viewpoint of the working class it is necessary to fight to offset this instability. It is preferable that solution of the problems of small business, to the extent that they are capable of solution, be sought not at the expense of the working class but in curbs on monopoly and in government measures to offset the enormous economic disadvantages of small enterprise. On this

basis, these strata can be brought into alliance with the working class against monopoly.

Farmers

As we have noted, agribusiness is driving out the individual American farmer. Huge capitalist enterprises dominate. Small and medium working operators, though still a majority of agricultural producers, are rapidly losing out. The survivors struggle for existence through legislative action, cooperatives, and strikes or boycotts for better prices. These struggles are a dramatic, though often overlooked chapter in the fight against monopoly.

Government farm programs are designed to enrich agribusiness, the processing corporations and the banks. Government agencies are run by representatives of these interests. Government policy aims openly to speed the expulsion of smaller farmers.

In their struggles for survival, the farmers require support from other groups. Especially necessary is the advancement of farmer-labor unity, for which the Communist Party has always striven.

To meet farmers' needs, we advocate the following measures:

Government financial and technical help exclusively to small and medium farmers and to cooperatives.

Government provision of good land, easy credits and other assistance to workers seeking to acquire farms or to establish cooperative farms.

The end of crop curtailment and destruction and the promotion of maximum output to feed hungry people at home and abroad.

Full application of labor and social legislation to farm workers; full support to their struggles for organization and decent living conditions.

IV. THE PATH AHEAD

The Face of the Enemy

In the rising struggles of the working class and all social strata that feel the lash of the oppression of monopoly capital, lie the foundations of the country's future. But these struggles are as yet disjointed, the movements are separate and fragmented, while the power they confront is tightly centralized and highly organized. The urgent challenge is to bring together these struggles and movements so that they may attain their full potential in power and effectiveness, and the capability of victory over monopoly capital.

The common enemy is monopoly capital. To be sure, just as monopoly creates a managerial elite to manage its economic empire, so it creates an elite to manage its political and ideological affairs. Such popular terms as "power structure" and "the Establishment" have some use as references to the managerial mechanism set up by monopoly. But they are misleading if used to obscure the decisive power grip of corporate big business. This is like mistaking overseer for plantation master. Like the overseer the managerial elite may have some latitude for decision making. It may be more or less cruel and obnoxious. But the master is monopoly capital.

The master-overseer confusion is elaborately cultivated. To the master the overseer was useful not only as a manager, but also as a buffer between the slaves and himself, as a lightning rod to deflect hatred and anger from his own person. In our society the buffer between the mass of the people and the monopoly masters is more complex and subtle.

Nowhere is the rule of monopoly more basic than in the decisive area of industry. There, fundamental economic patterns are set by the vast conglomerate aggregates of capitalism.

This rule is evident also in the war of the ghettos and slums. The capitalist rulers dictate ghetto boundaries and determine

where banks shall finance housing and for whom. They appoint police chiefs and organize racist indoctrination of the police. They determine national and local fiscal policies and priorities so as to exclude effective aid for ghetto dwellers.

It is evident on campuses where domination of governing boards by representatives of big business interests is notorious. Above all, it is evident with respect to the central issue of our time: war and militarism.

Millions of people clash with monopoly on many levels. Often they are unaware of it because the reality is veiled. It is a prime necessity, therefore, to expose the true state of affairs, to reveal the true class antagonist. To do so is to sharpen the confrontation and to imbue the popular forces with clearer consciousness of the nature of their struggle.

Recognition of the enemy and development of common action against him is key to attainment of a vital strategic objective—creation of a popular alliance against monopoly by all who are oppressed and exploited by it, an alliance whose firm foundation and backbone is the working class and the Black people.

But recognition of the common enemy and unity against him do not come of themselves. Here lies the special role of the Communist Party. In the building of the coalition, the Party plays the part of mobilizer, unifier and educator for struggle. It is the task of the Party to strive to ensure that the working class is brought to the fore in the alliance—that it does in fact become its backbone. Without this, no firm alliance is possible. It is the Party whose function it is to work for development of consciousness of the identity of the monopolist foe. It is the Party which is responsible for the building of a class-conscious contingent within the working class, and for raising it to the level of socialist consciousness. Hence the advancement and growth of the Communist Party is vital to development of the coalition.

Thereby forces are developed to give leadership and direction to the growing anti-monopoly alliance. And thus are the forces built which carry forward the struggle for socialism. For this struggle develops not after the anti-monopoly struggle but simultaneously, within its very heart.

The anti-monopoly struggle does not supplant the struggle for socialism. On the contrary, the struggle for socialism—the ultimate aim—is inherent in the struggle against the main opponent of that goal—monopoly capital. Every gain wrested from monopoly capital, small or large, strengthens the forces of socialism. Indeed, the basic forces in the anti-monopoly coalition also constitute the basic forces for the achievement of socialism.

Toward a New People's Party

We Communists seek the development of such an alliance. We see it as a vast popular movement engaged in the most varied forms of struggle, from shop to campus, from ghetto to draft induction center. As the concentrated political expression of such an alliance, we call for the creation of a new popular party.

Among monopoly's most artful devices for managing its political affairs and veiling its grip on the country is the present two-party system. Each of the two major parties appears as a hodge-podge of conflicting sectional and economic interests, glued together by electoral expediency in the contest for the Presidency. But this very hodge-podge, offered as evidence of their supposedly democratic character, constitutes the means of political domination by the centralized economic power of the giant corporations. The two parties are monopoly's political overseers.

The present two-party system is a vise within which the monopoly power contains class conflicts and social pressures, thus ensuring its own rule. In time of popular upheaval the vise has been loosened to give more play to popular pressures. But it remains a vise constricting the range of action within limits set, in the final analysis, by corporate power.

We are for maximum political struggle, for independent positions and forms, within the two-party vise. But the historical direction we see in this struggle, the desired goal, is creation of a new people's party. To make the struggle within the two-party framework an end in itself is to accommodate one's self to the vise. For us, on the contrary, the aim of such struggle is to expose the conflict between monopoly domination of the two parties and

the voters who constitute their mass base, and thereby to hasten a mass breakaway from the two-party vise.

As the crisis of policy, foreign and domestic, grows more acute, so do fissures and conflicts within the two-party framework. In part, these reflect the sharpening contradiction between the mass voting base of these parties and the monopoly interests that dominate them. In part, they reflect differences within big business circles.

The interest of monopoly spokesmen, whatever their differences, is to contain the conflict within the institutionalized framework of the two-party system. The true interest of the mass of voters, however, is served by asserting their independence of the structure that dominates these parties, and finally by breaking out of their limits.

As the crisis within the country grows more intense, the gap between monopoly aims and the wishes of the people becomes more glaring. And as the lying and demagogy of old-party politicians becomes increasingly evident to millions, disillusion with both major parties grows. Confronted with this, the monopolists have turned to the creation of an ultra-Right political force and the projection of an openly racist ultra-Right political party. This renders creation of alternatives outside the two-party system more urgent.

Radical anti-war and black liberation groupings have already produced third-party formations and electoral tickets. These are vital for projecting radical alternatives. They are vital for combining electoral contests with other forms of struggle. And they are vital for exerting pressure on the major parties and exposing the rigged character of the two-party system. However, if a new mass party is to be built that can seriously contest for power with the parties of monopoly, its social base must be firmly rooted in major sections of the working class and the Negro people. As long as these decisive sectors remain substantially within the two-party orbit, that orbit remains a vital arena of struggle for political independence.

As the political consciousness of the masses grows, this finds crystallization in varied organized forms independent of the two-

party system. These forms contain within themselves the forces that will give birth to the new mass political party.

We Communists shall do all we can to hasten its formation. We shall work to organize and unify the diverse struggles of the people against monopoly capital. We shall strive to make them conscious of the common enemy and of the need to center their fire against him. We shall work to develop the leadership of the working class in this common struggle and to build its class-conscious component. Like other groups within the coalition we shall project our particular ideas, including our longer-range program of socialism. We shall struggle to ensure and strengthen the anti-monopoly character of the new party and to build socialist consciousness within it. And we shall fight to forestall all attempts by monopoly agents to win effective control within it and divert it from its goals.

Radical Reform

The monopolies have generally yielded to the people only such reform measures as leave monopoly's essential power intact. The new party will fight for a program of radical reforms, of measures designed to make inroads into the power of big business and to provide the people with real economic and political gains at the expense of monopoly.

But such a program need not await the formation of the new party. It is already taking shape in the present-day struggles leading toward the establishment of such a party. Economic well-being of the people, peace and freedom—these are its triple focus.

Most urgent is a halt to U.S. imperialist aggression and reversal of the militarization of our country. With this go measures against racist oppression, exploitation and humiliation of the Black people. The fight for peace and freedom is in turn the spearhead of a fight for a reallocation of national resources that will give priority to the problems of slums, ghettos and poverty, of urban crises and deteriorating public services.

But a program of radical reforms should go beyond reallocation of resources and priorities. For the working class as a whole,

what is involved is the growing invasion of "management prerogatives." Big business resists any voice by labor in decisions on such questions as production schedules, use of automation, the closing of old plants and the location of new ones, prices, on-the-job safety, product quality, exports and imports. Yet these decisions affect workers' lives as vitally as do wages. To win a voice in them, to introduce a measure of democracy in economic life, is a central area of radical reform. Through such reform the power of the people is enlarged and that of monopoly capital is reduced. Of course, this is subject to the limitations imposed by the continued existence of capitalism.

Radical reform also includes such measures as the practical implementation of the right to a job, abolition of mass unemployment, vast extension of social security.

In governmental structure "management prerogatives" become "bureaucratic prerogatives." Here struggle is necessary for the right of people directly affected by programs and institutions to have a decisive voice in policy making and administration. This is applicable from welfare to higher education, from industrial safety to community redevelopment.

Such slogans as "Black power," "student power," "community power," recognize that power is the issue in politics, and that power now resides in bureaucratic hands beyond reach or sight of the people. They are positive affirmations of the deep urge among our people for a voice in decisions that directly affect their lives.

At the local level their strength lies in that they aim at institutions within reach. But this also defines their limitations. Greater self-rule in a ghetto, with community control of the police, schools and other institutions within its sphere, would be a significant democratic advance. But it would still not affect the power to decide what employment is available to ghetto dwellers, what resources are allocated to ghetto needs, what demands are made upon the ghetto for dispatch of its sons to death on distant battlefronts.

Centralization of monopoly power cannot be challenged effectively by atomization of people's power. Local bases of popular

power are vital, but what is necessary is union of such bases in powerful city, state and national movements that can challenge the decisive power in a state monopoly capitalist society.

We do not here present detailed electoral planks or legislative demands. We are concerned rather with guiding principles for a program of radical reform, aimed at curbing monopoly power and enlarging people's power.

On the national level this involves demands for nationalization of specific industries, for radical tax reform to tax the rich, for public ownership of mass communications media under the people's control, for halting the giveaway of natural resources to private monopolies and reclaiming prior giveaways. It also involves demands for repeal of repressive legislation; for electoral reforms that would remove the barriers to placing of minority parties on the ballot. It embraces measures to meet the economic and social needs of the people on a level that corresponds to the requirements of human dignity and economic decency.

Even a general outline of needed reforms indicates that struggle for them cannot be confined to electoral or legislative arenas. The great reforms in American history were not won through such narrow channels, although they were often later validated by legislation. The struggle for abolition of chattel slavery ranged from willful, systematic defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law to armed slave revolts. The right of labor to organize was won through strikes that often turned into bloody battles, through violation of injunctions. through boycotts and various other forms of struggle. The fight for women's suffrage produced civil disobedience, militant demonstrations, mass petitions. The status quo, in general, has never been changed merely through legislation.

A popular party fighting for radical reforms will not be simply an electoral machine. Still less so will be the anti-monopoly movement it represents. These will be vehicles for mass action—in the streets, in the workshops, or wherever else the need may arise, as well as at the polls.

Reform and Revolution

We have dwelt so far on reforms within the limits of capitalist

society, reforms which alter the relationship of forces and pave the way for revolutionary change. But the social crisis can be resolved fundamentally only through replacement of capitalism with socialism. Our critics will say that we contradict ourselves by trying to reform a system we claim is incurably rotten. But there is no contradiction. The struggles for day-to-day improvements are in fact basic training for the fight to take complete political power.

We reject the slogan "the worse, the better," the notion that increasing misery under capitalism is desirable because it will spur the people to revolt. The monopolists have ample genius for creating misery. They do not need our assistance. Our struggle for socialism rests on no such dismal defeatist views.

We are convinced of the fundamental unity of the struggle for reforms and the struggle for socialism. To seek the worse is to oppose people struggling for vital immediate needs. One cannot oppose struggle on one hand and be for revolution on the other. Worsening conditions where there is lack of struggle leads not to revolutionary fervor but to hopelessness and tendencies to succumb to fascist demagogy.

We Communists, motivated by the elemental human needs of our class and our people, fight the evils of capitalism. Ours is the fate of our class and our people. The trials of their existence are ours. We strive for improvement of their condition here and now. Often this is a life-and-death question. At the same time, we are convinced that socialism, and beyond it communism, offers the only fundamental, lasting solution to the problems of exploitation and oppression, that it opens the only door to an immeasurable improvement in the quality of man's life. Thus the struggle for revolution is the logical continuation of the struggle for a better life.

No serious movement for social change can develop mass strength unless it exhibits concern for the urgent demands of the people, for their everyday needs. The people display profound wisdom in being skeptical of the radical who promises to solve the fundamental ills of society in one big revolutionary sweep and yet lacks the will and competence to solve an on-the-job

grievance or a community problem.

Through immediate struggle workers organize and learn the need to battle further. They learn who the enemy is and how to fight ultimately to the socialist revolution. Every successful socialist revolution was carried out by a working class with rich experience in struggles for immediate demands. A working class which did not battle for day-to-day improvements would, as Karl Marx put it, "be degraded to one level mass of broken down wretches past salvation."

For Communists the constant challenge is to relate everyday struggle to the ultimate goal, to show the relation of reform to revolutionary change.

Any apparent contradiction between the two arises from the double-edged nature of reforms. Every ruling class compelled to grant reforms attempts to present them as tokens of its own generosity and reasonableness. Reforms, however, are products of popular struggle and pressure, never of capitalist benevolence. Without continued struggle and pressure reforms can all too easily be lost.

The ruling class hails each new reform as showing how flexible the system is, making basic change unnecessary. But while properly valuing the gain in each reform, we also expose its limitations and show how these result from the nature of the system.

Every ruling class attempts to contain the struggle for reform within channels where mass participation and militancy are minimized. That is, it attempts to confine the movement to conventional legislative lobbying and electoral contests. But we emphasize forms of struggle that involve the greatest mass participation and militancy. We do so in the conviction that this is how the maximum concessions can be obtained and safeguarded. And we do so because such forms deepen the people's realization of the power they command.

The ruling class seeks to control administration of reforms and so to turn them to its own advantage. Thereby it also seeks to blunt the militant edge and revolutionary potential of the popular movement that compelled enactment of the reforms. Hence the struggle is not ended when a given reform is won. The people

must maintain maximum vigilance and control over its implementation and administration.

The effect of reform and its relation to revolutionary change are thus determined in large measure by the character of the reform and by the nature of the struggle for it, and by the popular consciousness that attends and grows with that struggle.

Our strategic perspective is based on sharpening conflict between the popular forces and monopoly. No monopoly-dominated government can resolve the contradiction between the drive for world empire and the growing inability to achieve it at this stage of history. It cannot resolve the contradiction between its drive for higher profits and the accumulating economic and social problems which arise from increased exploitation. It cannot resolve the contradictions between formal democracy and actual practice, which increasingly excludes the mass of people from the vital decision-making process that affects their lives. It cannot resolve the contradiction between its racist policy of divide and rule and the explosive liberation struggle to which it gives rise.

Such contradictions grow more acute the longer they go unresolved. They supply the compulsions for fashioning a great anti-monopoly alliance and for its crystallization in a new people's party. As such a party fights for a program of radical reforms, it will enter into the sharpest clashes with monopoly, which will resist with all its enormous resources every encroachment upon its privileges. Where it can, it will resort to violence and the people should be prepared to meet it.

Such a party would fight for government power. Some contend that its success would produce a protracted period of harmony and equilibrium between the anti-monopoly administration and a capitalist economy in which monopoly retains positions of strength—"a welfare state" or a "people's state." But this is not so. If such an administration refrains from radical reforms in the interests of peacefully coexisting with monopoly, it will fail in its mission. It will be reduced to the same impotence as some Western European labor governments which entered into similar compromise with monopoly at the expense of the working people. If it proceeds with serious assaults upon monopoly's positions of

economic and political strength, it will face furious resistance, devious sabotage, the most relentless war to bring about its collapse. It would soon become apparent that restraints upon monopoly are not enough; that capitalism itself must go.

The Socialist Path

Whether it attains the reins of government or not, sooner or later, in the course of fighting for its democratic aims, an anti-monopoly alliance will be brought face to face with the fundamental issue: either it destroys monopoly or monopoly destroys it. Such is the inner logic, the dynamics of the class struggle.

But destruction of monopoly cannot mean turning the clock back to a pre-monopoly stage of competitive capitalism. At the present level of economic and technological development, monopoly cannot be supplanted by any other form of capitalism. It can be replaced only by political power of the working class and public ownership of the nation's basic productive plant, and its operation for the common good instead of for private profit—that is, by socialism.

Hence at the juncture where a popular majority comes to accept the conclusion that it is necessary to do away with capitalism, the fight for socialism becomes the urgent, immediate objective of political battle. It is no longer a matter of reforms, however radical, but of social revolution. When and in what circumstances such a turning point will be reached cannot now be predicted. Neither can the precise nature of the revolutionary conflict that will then take place. But whatever the circumstances, the necessary features of a political alignment for social revolution include revolutionary leadership by the Communist Party, mass socialist consciousness, and decisive participation of the working class.

Revolution, as our Declaration of Independence affirms, is the ultimate and most fundamental of democratic rights. It is also the most democratic of historical acts because it involves the most fundamental choice by the people itself, exercising its sovereign authority. Reactionary coups can be brought off by conspiracies, but not social revolution. Coups are manipulations at

the top. Social revolution is basic transformation of society, basic change in economic, political and social relationships. More, *socialist* revolution represents a transition in which not a tiny minority of exploiters but the overwhelming majority—the working class and all working people—become the rulers.

So profound a transformation cannot be made by a coup or conspiracy. It can only be effected through active participation of masses of people, black and white together. It can occur only when millions ordinarily indifferent to the political process, or at most passive participants in it, are brought actively into political life. In the United States, where monopoly is so strongly entrenched, where there is a highly literate population and a long-standing democratic tradition, it would require the conscious effort of millions, supported at the very least by the sympathy of a popular majority.

The democratic means of socialist revolution are joined with its democratic ends. It aims to end the despotic control over society by a financial oligarchy and to establish democratic control over the nation's economy as the firmest foundation for democratic self-rule in all aaspects of national life.

There can be no doubt, therefore, as to the inherently democratic character of socialist revolution. The question remains, however, whether the democratic will of the people can be brought to expression by relatively peaceful means, that is, without armed insurrection, without civil war. Of course, we advocate social change by peaceful means, through political institutions and people's organizations within the American Constitutional framework. But the people's democratic will, our advocacy, and the democratic institutions of our country are not the sole historical factors that will determine the path of social change in the United States.

There is also monopoly power and the question of how it will be exercised. American historical experience demonstrates it is naive to think that monopoly capital would be restrained by Constitutional scruples from resorting to violence to thwart the most democratic mandate for a socialist transformation. No ruling class relinquishes power passively and voluntarily. Hence the historical question still to be answered is: will the financial oligarchy be

able to inflict a bloody ordeal on the country?

It is of course impossible to give the answer to this question today. Such a question can be answered only when the socialist revolution is the immediate order of business, and in terms of the precise situation prevailing at that time. The exact tactics of revolution can be determined only when a revolutionary situation matures—when the ruling class can no longer rule in the old way and the majority of the people are no longer willing to accept the existing order. Clearly, such a situation does not now exist in the United States.

Of course, the people must be prepared to meet any eventuality. While we seek a peaceful path, as preferable to a violent one, this choice may prove to be blocked by monopolist reaction. Socialism must be sought, therefore, by whatever means circumstances may impose.

We believe, however, that a peaceful path to socialism is a possible alternative. This is not to say that the transition would be free of all violence. The violence, terror, brutality and murder which mark the American scene today, emanating from the ruling class, are more than ample evidence that to expect this would indeed be utopian. But we believe that in today's world the possibility exists of creating such a relationship of forces that monopoly capital can be prevented from attempting to drown the popular will in blood.

The struggle to curb monopoly power and to expand the power of the working people is a struggle to create such a relationship of forces. To the degree that it is successfully carried out, it can bring about the most favorable circumstances for the revolutionary transformation of society, when the American people so decide.

The principal machinery for violence in our society is the military establishment. Its subservience to monopoly is dramatized in the military-industrial complex. Clearly, dismantling of the military-industrial complex and reversal of the growth of militarism would have a decisive bearing on the circumstances attending revolutionary change.

Similarly the struggle to invade "management prerogatives" and "bureaucratic prerogatives" in the administration of society, and

to create agencies for direct popular participation in administrative and decision-making processes can seriously weaken the power bases from which monopoly could launch violence against the people.

In short, the possibility of averting monopoly violence hinges on the degree of success achieved in the struggles to curb monopoly, to diminish materially the power of militarism and bureaucracy, to democratize American life, and to build massive bases of popular power. Ultimately, the best guarantee for averting violence is the creation of a majority so overwhelming, so firm of purpose and commanding such positions of power as to restrain and minimize monopoly's use of force.

At the same time the the possibility of crisis situations leading to swift revolutionary confrontations must be taken into account. A crisis resulting from a protracted war, from an attempt at a reactionary coup, or from an economic depression—all these are certainly possible in our monopoly capitalist society. However, strategy cannot be hinged on waiting for such contingencies.

The strategy of democratic struggle against monopoly provides the best preparedness for the contingencies of crisis, that is, of course, provided that there exists a revolutionary party that sees the historical direction of the struggle, that convinces ever larger numbers of people of the necessity for revolutionary change. This function the Communist Party seeks to perform, in conjunction with such other parties and groupings committed to socialism as may arise.

In sum, we conceive of a path to socialism in America encompassing ever more determined and widening struggle against exploitation, against imperialism, against racism, against war and colonialism, for an ever more viable democracy that includes all our people, white and black. We see it as encompassing struggle for progressively more radical measures, as dictated by necessity, to realize the potential for abundance, knowledge, culture and human happiness created by the genius of American labor and science.

For us socialism represents a culmination, a crowning achievement of democratic struggle for a better life.

At the same time, recognition that capitalism must go does not wait upon some distant day. Indeed, the goals of immediate democratic struggles, whether decent housing, adequate medical care or proper education, are becoming increasingly impossible of attainment within the present system. Capitalism has already become a formidable obstacle to solving these problems by any means short of its abolition. Hence the very development of present-day struggles lays the basis for making clear *now* the need to change the system and for building *now* the movement for socialism in the United States. He who does not work for these goals *now* will never be prepared for revolutionary change.

V. THE SOCIALIST GOAL

The Nature of Socialist Society

For us socialism is the historic means for attainment of social goals we share with most Americans:

1. Durable peace and an end to fear of nuclear annihilation; a world fraternity of free peoples that realizes the ancient vision of the brotherhood of man.

2. A life free of exploitation, insecurity, deprivation. Material abundance and well-being for all. An end to poverty. Drastic reduction of crime.

3. Freedom for Black Americans in its full measure (in our society this defines the limits of the freedom of all). Freedom and justice for all other oppressed minorities. Full equality for women.

4. Renewal and extension of democracy; an end to the oppressive rule of a corporate elite; creation of a truly humane and rational society permitting the fullest flowering of the human personality.

Some hold that these goals are unattainable. They hold that man is inherently evil, that a better society is a utopian dream. Still others contend that these goals can be fully realized under capitalism. We are persuaded, however, that neither is right and that they can be realized only through socialist reconstructions of society.

Economic Structure of Socialist Society

With political power in the hands of the working people, socialism starts with nationalization of the main branches of industry and finance. It thereby eliminates forever the material basis, the power of exploitation and oppression of the monopoly capitalists,

who are cast into the dust-heap of history. The principal means of production come under public ownership, that is, under the collective ownership of the entire working class, which has the leading role in building socialism.

The building of socialism takes place according to its own economic laws, which are quite different from those of capitalism.

The basic economic law of capitalism—its driving force—is the striving of capitalists for the highest profits through exploitation of labor, seizure of natural resources, national oppression, war and foreign conquests. This is the inevitable consequence of private ownership of the means of production and the hiring of wage labor.

In contrast, the basic economic law of socialism is the fullest satisfaction of the people's material and cultural requirements, which are continually increasing and becoming more varied. These are met through steadily rising production of goods and services. Such production increases much faster than under capitalism, through advancement of science and technology, through conservation and development of natural resources. This inevitably arises as a consequence of social ownership of the means of production.

Socialist aims are achieved through economic planning, which coordinates society's material and human resources to achieve smooth and steady growth. Capitalist corporations draw up private plans designed to maximize individual profits. Such plans cannot be realized fully because they conflict with one another and with the needs of the people. Socialist governments draw up plans covering the entire economy. They are drawn up with maximum participation of the people, from the shop level on up. When technically accurate, these plans are achieved because they harmonize the interests of all, because there are no conflicts arising from exploitation of workers and from destructive competition.

A socialist government is based on all-around democracy, starting with economic democracy. The more the people participate in running their own economy, the more firmly people's power is established, the more successful a socialist America will be.

Trade unions in a socialist society will insure a wage scale

providing a fair balance between what workers produce and what they receive. They will have decisive power to enforce safety and health provisions, prevent speedup, guarantee good transportation and training facilities. The unions will also play a major direct role in planning and in all management functions.

Public services—schools, utilities, transit lines, hospitals, parks—are increasingly neglected in capitalist society, since in the main they yield little or no direct profit to the capitalist. Under socialism this contradiction will vanish. Public services will be vastly expanded. They will be broadened in their scope beyond anything dreamed of under capitalism.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt, responding to the pressures of the coalition of labor and the Negro people, once set forth an Economic Bill of Rights. It includes:

The right to a useful and remunerative job.

The right to earn enough to provide adequate food and clothing and recreation.

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living.

The right of every family to a decent home.

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health.

The right to a good education.

In capitalist society this Economic Bill of Rights can never be realized. Even efforts to realize it partially have been frustrated by the opposition of capitalist reaction. But socialism will make it—and much more—a reality.

America will become a vast construction site. Homes, schools, hospitals, places of recreation, will be built to end shortages, replace substandard structures and multiply public facilities.

Full employment will be quickly achieved as production is expanded to satisfy the needs of the people. Automation at the service of the working people will lead to both reduced hours of work and higher living standards. There will be no danger of overproduction since production will be planned and people's incomes will increase in line with the rising output of consumer goods and services.

Poverty will be ended speedily, with the recovery of the vast resources now wasted in war production, advertising ,the super-luxury living of the rich, and idle capacity.

All education will be tuition-free. Every person will have access to unlimited medical and health care without charge. These rights will be realized as rapidly as facilities can be built and the necessary personnel trained.

With capitalism gone, organized crime will also go, for it is the dog-eat-dog profit system that corrupts people and breeds crime.

Assured of basic necessities, some ask, won't people express their human nature by not working? The principle of socialism is: From each according to his ability, to each according to his work. It also embraces the principle: He who does not work, neither shall he eat. Socialism has no use either for exploiters or for parasites.

Socialism provides incentives for working better, producing more and higher quality goods, acquiring an advanced skill. It does not equalize wages. These vary according to occupation and efficiency. Under capitalism, improvements in skill, organization and technology are rightly feared by the worker, since they threaten his job. But under socialism, they offer the chance to make his job more interesting and rewarding, as well as to improve his living standard.

Socialism likewise provides moral incentives. Where the fruits af labor benefit all, where no man robs others of their labor, where social goals are adopted by the majority, people will want to work for these goals. Work will seem less a burden, more and more a creative activity, where every man is his brother's helper, instead of his rival.

Apologists for capitalism claim that socialism will benefit only a ruling clique of bureaucrats. Swollen government and corporate bureaucracies are among the harmful features of capitalism. But every society needs administrators, managers and clerks. Under capitalism they become part of the apparatus of exploitation and repression. But under socialism they become answerable and thus of service to the majority. Under socialism, people have the *power* to set the terms of administrative work, fix salaries, determine

the number of personnel and their relationship with the public, as well as to remove them for cause.

Private and Public Property

Socialist America will nationalize or turn over to cooperatives of working people all *large-scale* productive property and real estate. But socialism does not require abolition of *all* privately-owned means of production. In particular, it does not require nationalization of those owned by people who work for themselves. Personal property—private homes, automobiles, etc.—will remain inviolable under socialism.

In highly mechanized U.S. agriculture there will still be a place for the family-sized farmer. He will be relieved of monopoly pressure and production restrictions. Help will be given those who wish to organize farm cooperatives. Factory farms will be converted into state enterprises. Farm laborers on these state farms will be provided with good housing, schools, health facilities. Their wages will be raised to a par with non-farm workers.

Several million small enterprises in trade, service and industry contribute to the convenience of living and the smoothness of industrial production in the United States. Many of these could continue to perform useful functions under socialism. At the same time, their conditions would be greatly improved. For example, proprietors of small gas stations and stores would be relieved of the pressures of the big oil companies, the food monopolies, etc. But many will undoubtedly prefer to turn their properties over to public ownership at just compensation and continue as managers at regular salaries and working hours.

Owners of small enterprises may also prefer to join to form cooperatives. Financial assistance and technical aid would be given to cooperatives, as a socialist form of enterprise.

In the United States several million employees and workers are small stockholders in giant corporations. A socialist government would not seek to expropriate their savings or those of small rental real estate owners any more than those of small savings bank

depositors. On the other hand, the aristocratic life of the multimillionaires would end. Their extra homes, lavish yachts, vast country estates would be converted to public use, made available for the enjoyment and health of the working people. But there would be no drive to reduce punitively the living standards of moderately well-off middle-class persons willing to work for a socialist society.

The Abolition of Racial and National Oppression

The rapid liquidation of national and racial oppression and inequality is an outstanding achievement. In the USSR, with its hundreds of nationalities, the accomplishments seem almost miraculous. Within a few decades the peoples of Central Asia, enslaved and oppressed under Tsarism, advanced to full material, cultural and political equality. In Cuba, the complete integration of black and white people and the wiping out of inequalities took place within a few years. These shining examples of human brotherhood demonstrate the only road to genuine liberation.

Here, too, socialism will bring complete equality for Black Americans in all aspects of life. There will be no compromise with racism, for there will no longer exist a capitalist class which profits from it.

Black people will be free to live where and as they wish in integrated communities or in their own communities, with all necessary material and financial support to establish the requisite residential, commercial, industrial, recreational and other facilities. They will be free to develop to the full their identity and culture.

Similar principles will apply to the Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and Indians. They will have every right and facility to develop their own languages and cultures, to recover the land stolen from them or receive adequate compensation. They will share fully in economic and political power.

Socialist Democracy

Many capitalist governments seem democratic on paper. But the realities of capitalist power, of capitalist economic autocracy,

limit *effective* democratic rights to the capitalists. Socialism provides the economic foundation for effective democracy for the masses of the people. To carry through the economic transformations of socialism requires political rule by the working class —a government of the working class and its allies.

Such a government, with the democratic support of a popular majority, would have to proceed with energy and resolution to enact measures for the socialist reconstruction of society, and to enforce these measures with all the power at its command.

It would have a Herculean job of renovation of a bureaucratic state structure that was fashioned in the service of capitalism. By outlook, habit, training and conscious purpose, the top echelons of this bureaucracy—notably in the military, police and diplomatic branches—are committed to the old society. To fulfill the popular mandate for socialist reconstruction, the whole machinery of government would have to be completely overhauled. These elements would have to be removed from all positions of power.

Having outlawed capitalist property rights, the new working-class state would employ its powers to suppress any attempt by a hostile minority of deposed capitalists and their supporters to nullify the popular mandate and restore capitalism. It would have to act with decisiveness and dispatch to safeguard the new socialist society against all attacks by its enemies.

It would immediately outlaw all forms of national and racial discrimination and oppression. It would also outlaw all expressions of national chauvinism, anti-Semitism and racism generally, as well as all propaganda for war.

Socialism in the United States, which will not be modeled on that in any other country, will benefit from the experiences of others in building socialism. But mainly it will reflect the distinctive features of American historical development, tradition and environment. Certain unique historical advantages, coupled with the contributions of the working people of the U.S. enabled U.S. capitalism to achieve higher productive levels and living standards than capitalism in other countries. So, too, the development of socialism here will be attended by distinct advantages. The

most important are:

1. Possessing a most highly developed industrial society, an American socialist regime will not have to call for national belt-tightening to build an industrial base for the new society. It could immediately proceed to a socialist economy and rapidly raise living standards to unprecendented peaks. Indeed, no country is economically riper for socialism.

2. When the American people choose socialism they will have the enormous advantage of being able to learn from the experiences, achievements—and mistakes—of other peoples.

3. Free from fear of foreign intervention, socialism in the U.S. will not have to divert human energy and economic resources to defense.

4. The high level of industrial development has also created a working class which comprises a great majority of the population. This, together with the country's democratic traditions and institutions, will greatly facilitate socialist development, once the working class is won to socialist solutions.

5. By virtue of all these advantages, socialism in the U.S. can avoid many of the elements of a "forced march" that were necessitated in certain less developed countries, which were shadowed moreover by the threat of foreign intervention.

Socialism here will extend democracy to its fullest, taking as its starting point the democratic traditions and institutions of the American people. We believe and advocate that within the framework of building and defending socialism, a socialist society in our country will guarantee all the liberties defined in the Bill of Rights but never adequately realized in life. These include the right of the people to express themselves freely through organizations of their choie, through different parties and competing candidates who respect and are guided by the concept of building socialism.

Indeed, the freedoms in the Bill of Rights will take on far greater meaning for the great majority, who will now own the meeting halls, press, radio and television, and will be able to exercise that freedom effectively. But socialism does not provide freedom for

everybody and everything. It is not anarchism. It provides no freedom for racist or anti-Semitic practices and advocacy. Nor does it provide freedom for advocacy of a return to capitalist exploitation and class society. The minority of former exploiters must lose their freedom to oppress the majority, in order that this majority can realize *their* freedom, which advances human happiness and progress.

Public management in socialist America will not require the degree of centralization needed in less developed countries which had to create the basis for a national industry with meager capital resources. American experience and American governmental structure might suggest a combination of forms of public ownership: nationalization of enterprises operating on a national scale; establishment of regional authorities; state, county and municipal forms of ownership; various kinds of cooperatives and a variety of mixed forms. In fact, models for a number of these forms already exist in present-day socialist countries.

Diversified forms of public ownership, coupled with provisions for democratic participation in economic management, would serve to check bureaucratic tendencies and practices. Socialist democracy, in both the economic and political spheres, would be greatly reinforced by direct participation of trade unions and other organizations of the people in decision-making. To make such participation meaningful, these organizations would retain autonomy and freedom to uphold the democratically expressed will of the people they represent.

The Communist Party would be the leading people's political organization in this society.

Socialism and Communism

Socialism is a stage of human development. Upon entering it, people are not automatically shed of prejudices and habits accumulated in the past. Socialism is, however, qualitatively different from all prior satges of human development. In all prior social transformations, the *form* of private property changed (slave, feudal, capitalist), but private ownership and economic exploi-

tation remained. And with it, the class division between rich and poor, between exploiters and exploited, remained.

Under socialism, for the first time since the communal structure of primitive tribes, social wealth is the common possession of the working people. The division of society into antagonistic classes is abolished. In all previous societies, man seemed to be the pawn of blind, cruel economic and social forces (the unemployed worker and the uprooted farmer are cases in point). The masses of mankind were servants rather than masters of the instruments of production. Public ownership makes possible scientifially planned direction of the economy for the common good. Collective man becomes master of the complex machinery he has created. For the first time the conditions of human existence become truly human.

Socialism is not born full-blown, nor is it static. It grows and develops. Indeed, the term socialism describes but the first stage of a new society. In its full development, this society is called communism—a society in which economic abundance becomes the foundation of social relations based on the principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.

Socialism is a transitional stage. At this stage, society works to transform its collectively owned means of production into means for abundance. It works to overcome customs, habits, prejudices carried over from the old society. In the United States, the essential means for abundance are already present. It would require little more than the full release of the nation's productive capacity and creative energy to achieve affluence for all. In fact, no country is so late historically as ours in bringing about such a transformation. Greater effort will be required for creation of new human relations and ethical values, based on production for use instead of profit, on cooperation of equals for the common good, and on an abundance that renders competitive striving for worldly goods absurd. When this communist stage of society is reached, freedom will attain new dimensions for the coercive functions of government will have become obsolete and will die out.

Socialism Works

The viability and potential of socialism have been demonstrated

in the countries where it has been tried. In the Soviet Union, the first to take the socialist path, a socialist government took power when that country was exhausted and ravaged by war, its economy near collapse. And it was a country with a predominantly peasant population, steeped in illiteracy and superstition, in anti-Semitic and other national prejudices. It was a backward country lacking in modern technology and skilled manpower. The young socialist state went through three years of devastating civil war, intervention by fifteen capitalist countries and blockade, followed by widespread famine. Next came years of economic boycott by all capitalist countries and the ever-present threat of invasion, compelling the socialist state to tap its meager resources heavily for defense. Then came World War II, in which the USSR bore the brunt of the Nazi assault. Twenty million of its people, including prime sections of its labor force, perished. One-third of the country was ravaged. Its livestock and food reserves were destroyed. Two-thirds of its industrial base was totally wrecked.

Despite all this, in little more than one generation, the Soviet people transformed the USSR from one of the most backward countries economically to an advanced industrial country, second only to the United States. In 1920, its industrial production was only one per cent of the U.S. level. Today, it is more than three-fourths of the U.S. level. There have also been phenomenal advances in education, science, social welfare, living standards, health and medical care. In many areas, the USSR has outstripped the United States. Among them are universal medical care, full employment, abolition of poverty and hunger, wiping out of slums and construction of new housing for millions, achievement of national equality, attainment of equal status for women.

The post-World War II reconstruction and revival of the USSR are all the more remarkable in that they were achieved without any foreign aid, and in the face of a U.S. economic boycott and constant military pressure.

Considering the wretchedly low starting point for socialism in the USSR, considering the staggering trials and ordeals it endured, its achievement is the greatest economic and social miracle of

all time.

Nor are such achievements confined to the Soviet Union. They are repeated in the other socialist countries of Eastern Europe, and in the victory of socialism against enormous odds in China, in North Korea, in North Vietnam, in Cuba. In every socialist country there has taken place a remarkable flowering of economic, social and cultural development, associated with the abolition of all exploitation and oppression.

What Socialism Can Do

Many goals now recognized as reasonable in our country become unattainable because the rational (serving the public good) must yield to the irrational (serving private profit).

Automation, operated for private profit, assumes the guise of a monster. Under socialism, automation's potential for social good can readily be realized. Instead of rendering workers superfluous, it will be used to enlarge their knowledge of science and technology, to elevate the labor process in keeping with technological advance. Its introduction will be socially planned to derive the maximum social benefit rather than maximum profit for private owners, as under capitalism. It will be designed to provide both greater abundance for society and greater enrichment of the individual's life through more leisure and wider diversification of productive skills and interests. There will be complete security from birth to old age. Such evils as unemployment and poverty will seem as obsolete as slavery and cannibalism seem today.

Education in our capitalist society, because its costs eat into private profits, is habitually starved, restricted and deformed to serve monopoly capital. In a socialist America, education at all levels, including preparation for all learned professions, will flourish and be freely available to all. Similarly, the achievements of medical science, of whose benefits many are now deprived, will be available to all people, without cost. Pensions sufficient to support a decent standard of living will remove the economic cares of old age. In short, socialism will free life of the cares and worries which plague even the better-paid workers today.

Under socialism, housing resources will be allocated to meet human need, to provide homes for all the people. They will be used to provide not mere shelter that is marked by the monotony and drabness of most present-day housing, but homes for every family that are truly fit for human habitation, designed for comfort, efficiency, dignity and beauty.

The crisis of our cities is a monument to irrationality produced by a crazy-quilt of vested interests. The city, once the cradle of civilization, threatens to become its untidy tomb. The housing crisis is beyond solution by capitalism.

Socialism will make possible rational urban planning. Once American skills and resources are liberated from the fetters of private profit and given free rein to satisfy human need, the city beautiful, combining rational efficiency with aesthetic value, can become a practical reality.

On an even grander scale will be the planned rehabilitation of vast regions, like Appalachia, now chronically depressed and blighted by capitalism's anarchy and limitless greed. Lakes and rivers, polluted by voracious industrial interests, will be cleaned, bared hillsides reforested, wildlife restored and increased. Under socialism, balanced economic development can harmonize allocation of national wealth with rational utilization of regional resources. The potential of every region can be realized without speculative boom or chronic depression. The quality of life will be vastly enhanced. Man will enjoy all the beauties and wonders of his natural environment.

Surpassing anything that can now be clearly foreseen is the prospect of regional development on a global scale. People who fear that automation will render most human labor obsolete and transform most Americans into economic drones, limit their vision of human need and human potential to the narrow horizons of the profit system and national boundaries. In a world where a majority of mankind is chronically hungry and lacks the barest necessities, there is a monumental job to be done.

By eliminating the exploitative drive for private profit, socialism creates foundations for fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance

among nations. To be sure, nationalism and possibilities of friction, rising from differences in economic development and historical experience, do not vanish overnight. But these are transitory legacies of the past.

The new society, having eliminated the root economic sources of national antagonism, can overcome such residual obstacles to fraternal cooperation among nations. In today's world, the elimination of the gap between wealth and poverty cannot be confined within national boundaries. It must be global. And this global undertaking, the most monumental in the annals of man, a tangible instrument for realizing the dream of human brotherhood, will be the great mission of socialist nations joined in fraternal endeavor. Socialist wealth, available for vast reconstruction projects from the community level to the global plane, will be greatly enlarged by eliminating the enormous waste of capitalism. The most monstrous and anti-human waste of all—war and preparation for war —will be ended. What is now allocated for death will serve life.

The most ironic accusation levelled against scientific socialism is its supposed preoccupation with material things, with economics. This is indeed a stone cast by a man in a glass house. Despite all the talk about the dignity of the individual, about the moral and spiritual values of Western Civilization, the hallmark of capitalism is domination of human life by material things, by the dollar sign. At one pole of society, there is the drive for eonomic power over other human beings. At the other pole, there is the elemental struggle to make ends meet. In between, there is the "hustle for the buck," the competitive striving for status. Aptly called the "rat race" it typifies existence in present-day society, corrupting human relations, debasing culture, profaning the human mind and spirit.

Socialism *is* concerned with economics, not as an end in itself, but in order to liberate man from domination by material things. Once man in the collective becomes master of the economy, man as an individual is freed from its oppressive weight. Making a living ceases to be a desperate struggle. Labor loses its burdensome character and instead becomes a means for self-fulfillment. Man and woman become real partners. Families live truly in harmony.

All this, only a noble vision of prophets in other times, is now realizable. The means of production, the tangible measure of man's mastery over nature, have reached a stage where material abundance is readily attainable, where man can at last rise above mere animal struggle for existence. Socialism represents this leap in the evolution of human society. Individual man is freed to develop to the fullest his creative and critical faculties. He is freed to expand the range of his knowledge and interests to the broadest horizons, to attain at last the full measure of his human dignity.

Such enrichment of human life will be facilitated by ending the present domination of the arts by business and their prostitution for profit. Artistic creation will be made available to the great mass of people by lowering prices of books and theater admissions, through widespread provision as public services of libraries, publications, theaters, concert halls, art galleries, exhibitions. We believe in encouraging creative talent, bringing artists and audiences together, developing thoughtful and responsive audiences, encouraging lively exchange of views and opinions, in the framework of a battle of ideas. This will be the achievement of socialism.

Socialism will free the human urge toward scientific discovery and invention. Universal availability of higher education and universal well-being will provide a growing share of the nation's human and material resources for great scientific projects in all fields. The people will be able to advance from spectators of history to active participants in its making in the fullest sense of the word.

In our country, a most notable contribution of socialism to human dignity will be the creation of material conditions for eliminating all vestiges of racism and racial or national discrimination. We have already indicated that socialism will employ all the powers of government to enforce to the hilt equality of rights and opportunities. Beyond this, by eliminating exploitation, by promoting the ethic of the common good, socialism will strike at the deepest roots of prejudice. Ideological remnants of prejudice may linger on after its material roots have been removed, but when all legal, political, social, cultural and educational forces of society are

brought to bear against these lingering remnants, they will shrivel. The ugly fruits of prejudice will be buried in the same soil as their roots. Our nation will be free at last of a source of moral corruption, hypocrisy and degradation that has plagued it from birth.

In an age when philosophies of despair, mysticism and irrationality are in vogue, reflecting the crisis of capitalist society, socialism is the philosophy of optimism. It is the affirmation of human progress, of the human potential, of man's capacity to create a rational and humane society. It is, in the words of Gabriel Peri, a great French Communist put to death by the Nazis, the "promise of singing tomorrows." This is the boundless source of its moral strength.

VI. THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Marxism-Leninism

This program is the most authoritative statement of what the Communist Party stands for. It is an expression and an application of a world outlook, of an ideology.

Our world outlook is scientific socialism, or Marxism-Leninism as it is commonly called after Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, its foremost originators and exponents. Like any true science, it begins with study of the world as it actually is. It rests on two major philosophical foundations.

1. Human society, like the natural world of which it is a part, is capable of scientific explanation. Its development is governed by laws that can be scientifically ascertained, that is, derived from and tested by human experience and practice.

2. Study of the world as it actually is must include the world in the process of change, for change is its most durable feature. To regard the world statically is to distort reality. For us, the real question is not whether human society will change, but how will it change, what laws govern the change, what forces bring it about. In finding the scientific answers to these questions, men can, through their conscious effort, facilitate the change, minimize the hardships it might entail, enlarge its social rewards.

In sum, our outlook is materialist, rejecting any ideas of the supernatural. Our method is dialectical, recognizing change as fundamental and rejecting all static, frozen concepts of reality.

Our outlook clashes with others that view history as a jumble of accidents, a haphazard series of exploits by great men, the unfathomable clash of human wills, the expression of innate instincts the mechanical reflection of biological laws, the whim of supernatural forces, or the predestined unfolding of a design by some deity or supernatural spirit.

This clash is not an abstract philosophical dispute. If man's

social condition is the product of forces beyond his rational understanding or influence, it follows that he can really do nothing about it, that wisdom lies in resigning himself to things as they are. Clearly, such an outlook serves those with vested interests in the status quo. It serves the capitalist class.

If, on the other hand, man's social condition is shaped by scientifically discoverable laws, it follows that discovery of those laws endows man with great skill in achieving rational mastery over his social condition. Clearly, this outlook accords with the interests of those who are not favored by the status quo, who are not led by privileged positions in contemporary society to obscure its realities, or to represent it as the end point of social development rather than a passing stage on the journey of human progress. It accords with the interests of the working class.

Marxism-Leninism is, therefore, the science of social change. It is revolutionary because it recognizes in the struggles of today the basis of fundamental social change. And it is revolutionary because central in it is the reality that the climactic point of that change, the replacement of one social system by another, is a revolutionary act, because the building of a socialist society is a revolutionary process.

Many are impelled by their own grievances or by indignation at the injustices and social inequities they see about them to rebel against capitalist society. They may be motivated by admirable ethical principles, by splendid visions of the good society. But their rebellion remains largely blind, its effectiveness impaired, without a scientific understanding of the society against which they rebel or of the social forces that will change it. The growth of Marxism-Leninism attests to two key facts of contemporary history. Capitalist society inexorably produces, in the working class, the rebels against it. These rebels find in Marxism-Leninism the ideological weapon for realization of their aims and aspirations.

Marxism-Leninism is thus the world outlook of the working class, the theoretical instrument essential for achievement of working-class political power. Nowhere has the working class been victorious without its use.

It is this which explains the phenomenal spread of Marxist theory. The property of a handful of revolutionary exiles little more than a century ago, today it guides one-third of mankind in the socialist countries. It has tens of millions of adherents in the non-socialist world. The dominant powers of the old order, the mighty rulers of society, have employed all their intellectual resources—their writers, professors, clergy, television, radio and the press—to "refute" Marxism. They have employed their formidable police apparatus to suppress it. They have employed their military might to crush it. Yet it moves, it grows, it spreads. The rulers of America have repeatedly declared it dead. They have branded it as alien to this land. But this Program is itself one among many proofs that Marxism is deeply imbedded in our soil, that it will thrive and conquer here also.

Frightened by this phenomenon, unable to understand it, defenders of the old order resort to the absurd theory of "conspiracy" to explain it. This is the ultimate rejection of history as a rational science. It is also the ultimate expression of contempt for human beings, for it asserts that hundreds of millions are embarked upon social revolution, with all its trials and hazards, by the mere manipulation of conspirators.

Another sort of accusation is also levelled against Marxism. Since it asserts that social development proceeds according to its own laws that are independent of human will, it is said that Marxism dismisses or belittles human will, that it is a fatalistic theory. Such an argument totally misconceives the function of science. Man's discovery of natural laws has not produced a more fatalistic resignation to the forces of nature. On the contrary, fatalism was most pronounced when he was most ignorant of natural laws and was resigned to natural calamities as "the will of the gods." But with the advance of science man erected ever more effective barriers to such natural calamities as flood or drought. Similarly, men had the will to fly centuries ago, but only through mastery of objective natural laws did the desire become a reality. The human will is chained by ignorance. It is released by scientific knowledge.

Likewise, the greater man's mastery of the laws of social devel-

opment, the greater the range for the effective expression of the human will. Those who exalt human will as absolute in reality reduce it to nothing. For without scientific understanding of both the possibilities and limitations its expression at any given stage of social development, human will can be rendered as futile as Canute's commanding the tides to halt. Marxism elevates human will, consciousness and aspiration by enhancing their effectiveness as forces for social progress.

Like any other science, Marxism consists of conclusions and laws tested by historical experience, the laboratory of social science. And, like any science, Marxism develops and expands with the appearance of new phenomena, with the accumulation of experience, with the enlargement of knowledge. Indeed, its very methodology, which requires that all things be studied in their concrete form and in the process of change, demands constant re-examination of its relationship to changing realities. Dogmatism, which proclaims the revelation of frozen eternal truths, is the direct opposite of Marxism in spirit.

Marxism is not only rational; it is humanist in the best and most profound meaning of the term. It explains the world, the better to change it. It is science in the service of man. It is compass and weapon in the struggle of our time to liberate man from the fetters of exploitation, oppression and war, to attain the vast measure of abundance, knowledge and freedom now within human reach.

The Communist Party of the United States

Being a dynamic world outlook—one which seeks to change the world, not merely to contemplate it—Marxism-Leninism embraces also the concept of an instrument necessary for giving effect to its theoretical conclusions: a political party based on Marxism-Leninism.

Political parties are instruments which serve class interests. Monopoly capital has its own political parties through which it exercises its rule as a class. In this, it is opposed by the working class—the revolutionary class in present-day society. Just as the

class struggle is the necessary outcome of capitalist exploitation, so the necessary ultimate goal of that struggle is the winning of political power by the working class. It must strive to become the ruling class, with the purpose of ending exploitation and instituting a socialist society. The necessary means for securing such political power is a Marxist-Leninist, working-class political party—a revolutionary party dedicated to a fundamental transformation of society. It must be a party that applies Marxism-Leninism to the struggles of the workers and their allies, a party that seeks to guide that class to power.

A party of this type arises, therefore, not as a diabolical conspiracy or an importation from abroad, but out of the struggles and traditions of the society itself. Today, Marxist-Leninism parties have come into being in about a hundred countries, often in the face of the most strenuous efforts by those in power to suppress them.

The Communist Party of the United States was likewise born out of the struggles and history of our own country. The sources and traditions of American Communism go back to the early years of our nation. There were utopian communist colonies in the early nineteenth century. There were Communist clubs founded on our soil before the Civil War, under the influence of Marxist ideas. Communists such as Colonel Joseph Weydemeyer served with distinction in the Union Army. We are heirs, too, of the Abolitionist tradition in the century-long struggle for Black freedom—of the ideas of such distinguished Americans as Frederick Douglass, Wendell Phillips, Frances Wright and W. E. B. Du Bois. Our more immediate roots can be traced to the valiant Knights of Labor, to the Socialist Party of Eugene V. Debs, to the Industrial Workers of the World with such heroic leaders as Big Bill Haywood, to militants in the American Federation of Labor. Our tradition is a long and a rich one. If our kinship is world-wide, our roots are American.

We have a history of half a century of participation in American life, and we have left our mark on the history of our country. In the twenties and thirties, we pioneered in the fight for industrial

unionism, for Black freedom and in the fight for social security and unemployment insurance. We were the "premature anti-fascists" in the thirties. Some 3500 of our young men fought the Fascist Franco, tool of Hitler and Mussolini, and 1200 died there. We made our contribution to the victory over Hitlerism in World War II. And we carried on the fight for peace and democratic rights throughout the darkest years of McCarthyism in the post-war period.

A Marxist-Leninist party such as ours consists of those members of the working class, as well as of other classes, who have come to see the historical necessity of socialism. It is a party whose members recognize the decisive importance of organization in attaining that goal. These members are drawn from among those active in the struggles and organizations of the people, and from those in their leadership. It is a party which strives to imbue the working class with a sense of its historic mission, of its responsibility for leadership of all progressive forces in society. Fighting for the most advanced of political goals, identified with the most advanced social outlook, it is the most advanced detachment in the struggle for social progress.

The working class and other strata of the people create a variety of organizations to cope with groups of related problems or to fight on specific issues. The Communist Party does not compete with such organizations. Rather, it serves as a center where experiences from all these organizations may be pooled and shared, and related to the strategic objectives of the whole working class or the whole people at any given time. Such a party is indispensable because it gives expression to the community of interests of the whole class. It provides a strategic focus for the scattered struggles of separate detachments of the class and its allies. It connects the issues of a given moment with the historic goal of liberation from capitalism.

Such a party is indispensable in fighting for the unity of the class and giving it a consciousness of its own purpose. It is indispensable in "the battle for men's minds." Habit, custom, prejudice, and powerful mechanisms of indoctrination and propaganda are all

employed by the ruling class to persuade the people to accept its rule as natural and legitimate. Only a party with a consistent, revolutionary ideology, based on the most advanced social science, can effectively and consistently challenge the intricate ideological mechanisms of the ruling class.

In sum, the Communist Party is essential in reinforcing and guiding today's struggles. It is essential in negotiating the revolutionary passage from capitalism to communism.

Fulfillment of such responsibilities requires a disciplined party, capable of united, single-minded action at all times. A Marxist-Leninist party, therefore, is one based on the principle of democratic centralism. That is, decisions are to be arrived at democratically, but once made, they are binding on all members. For the sake of unity and effectiveness, all members are called on to submit to a common discipline. Further, a Marxist-Leninist party employs collective methods of work, utilizing and combining the knowledge and experience of its entire membership. Finally, as a serious, responsible party, it is one which strives at all times to examine its work self-critically, to discover its errors and correct them in good time.

To be a Communist, therefore, is to be attached to principle and ready to defend it at all times. It is to be firmly committed to the fight for the welfare and interests of the working class and of working people generally. It is to be selflessly devoted to the noble vision of emancipation of mankind from all exploitation and oppression, to the victory of socialism and communism.

The parties of Marxism-Leninism have attracted some of the finest minds and noblest spirits of our time. Among them are such towering figures of culture and science as Pablo Picasso, Maxim Gorki, Sean O'Casey, Bertolt Brecht, Pablo Neruda, Diego Rivera, Dmitri Shostakovich, Irene and Frederic Joliot-Curie, David A. Siqueiros and others.

In our country, three of the greatest labor organizers and strike leaders of the century—William D. Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and William Z. Foster—were Communists. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, peerless Black scholar, founding father of the modern free-

dom movement, joined the Communist Party toward the end of his illustrious life. So did Theodore Dreisler, titan of the American novel.

Among the members and leaders of our Party are men and women who endured years in prison for their convictions, and then returned undauted to the thick of battle for what they believe. Among them are men who exhibited exemplary courage and leadership in military combat against fascism on the soil of Spain and on the battlefronts of World War II, men whose spiritual strength overcame the most grievous physical injuries incurred in prison or in battle. Among them are men and wromen who defy intimidation and harassment, rank-and-file working people whose lives are enriched by understanding, given meaning by participation in the struggle for socialism.

Such courage and dedication are nourished by deepest devotion to the welfare of mankind, to the interests of our people. They are inspired by a world outlook that is rational in content and moral in purpose.

The combination of its scientific outlook and the people attracted to it enable our Party to march in the van of struggle for human progress. They make our Party a fighting organization uniting the most advanced, the most militant, the most devoted elements of the working class and its allies. Growing numbers, we are confident, will join our ranks.

VII. OUR RELATIONS WITH OTHERS

Guiding Principles

Communists have no interests separate and apart from the working class, from the majority of the American people. Rather, we have a special *viewpoint*. This explains our advocacy of a new people's party, even though we have a party of our own. In the specific circumstances of this stage of U.S. historical development, creation of such a party would be in the interests of the working class and of the U.S. people. It would in no way conflict with our own. Our program would, to be sure, go beyond those of other parties in time and scope. But this does not place us in opposition to another party of the people.

Communists fight for the immediate aims of the working class and the people, but in so doing they also seek to define the relationship between the struggle at a given moment and its ultimate destination—socialism. Therefore we see collaboration with other democratic currents and movements as necessary and desirable for the attainment of common objectives.

Our is an age of organization, born of the highly organized character of our industrial society. A vast bureaucratic power, foisted upon the nation by trustified capital, dominates the total life of the nation.

As a consequence some rebels see organization itself as evil, as an inescapable curse of bureaucracy. But to elevate non-organization to a principle is to concede the battle in advance. The only force that can break up the organized bureaucratic power *over* the people is the *greater* organized power of the people. And there can be no power without organization. We lay greatest stress, therefore, on the necessity for unity and organization, *democratic* organization. Thereby the people themselves can discuss problems, arrive at common decisions for action, and reach conclusions as to ultimate goals, tactics and strategy in struggle.

We therefore welcome and promote democratic organization of the people. We respect the independence and autonomy of all popular organizations. In asserting this principle we acknowledge genuine democracy—decisive participation of the rank-and-file in making and executing policy, with the right of all viewpoints to be heard that advance the common good.

Communists and The Left

In our relations with others, one area of specific concern is the whole radical and socialist spectrum of political life, of which we are a part. Our concern is twofold

1. When people move to the Left, when they begin to question the existing social order and to recognize the necessity for a new one, they face the questions: How is society to be transformed? What would the new society be like? The Left has always worked out and debated such questions. It is the seedbed of new ideas, of strategy and program in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of society. The exchange and clash of ideas on the Left can lead to a more powerful and united American movement for socialism.

2. Whatever the internal differences, the Left forces stand in a special relation to the larger American community. Because of their commitment and social vision, men and women of the Left have played the role of pioneers and innovators in the democratic mass movements of the American people. This has been so in the organization of labor, in the Black liberation movement, in the struggles for social and democratic reforms. Weakening of the Left impoverishes the mass movements, while their vitality is enhanced by Left influence. This is illustrated particularly by the experience of the trade union movement.

We Communists welcome the new growth of the Left. We welcome its growing challenge to the status quo, to the present social system. This is essential for building the movement for socialism.

We fight for increasing Left influence in the broad democratic streams of American life. This is needed to give democratic processes more vitality and substance, to speed their renewal. It is

needed to test and perfect Left policy and programs in the arena of social conflict, involving millions.

We strive for unity of the Left in order to realize its full political potential in the community at large. Whatever the differences between ourselves and others on the Left, we concentrate on seeking areas of agreement where united action can be organized. In common action different views can be discussed most fruitfully, with the greatest hope of reaching agreement.

A major political phenomenon of our time is the stirring revival of social concern and commitment among the younger generation. This young Left is often called the New Left. It emerges from and is active in the civil rights and Black liberation movements, the struggle for peace, and the new militancy unfolding in the trade union movement.

In mass movements against the corporate establishment there inevitably arise groups of activists who become convinced in the course of struggle that more militant tactics and more radical solutions are needed. Such conviction leads to the birth of a Left and such is the process of the formation of the New Left. While it shares the conviction that existing society must be radically changed, it possesses no common view as to the nature or manner of change. Some are committed to socialism, though they may differ widely on how it is to be achieved. Others have reached no definite conclusion, although the vague alternatives they outline derive much from the socialist conception. There is widespread Left sentiment, but Left organization lags.

A wide diversity of views exists on the Left. This stems largely from differences in background, experience and development. Leading New Left activists are experienced in peace, student and civil rights struggles, but have had little working-class experience. Hence many do not recognize the primary role of the working class in the fight for social change, although such recognition is growing.

Today's young radicals, like all past generations of young truth-seekers, take nothing on faith. They want to test all ideas and principles against present-day realities. We Communists welcome such testing, even as we oppose dogmatic or frivolous dismissal of all past revolutionary experience and achievement.

Some major ideological differences that separate these Left currents and place them in conflict with our own views are:

1. The continuing prevalence in some circles (particularly among Right-Wing social democrats) of "anti-Communism." This does not refer to people who simply disagree with Communists; rather it means those for whom "anti-Communism" is an obsession to which they subordinate all else, seeking to *suppress* Communism, to exclude Communists and their ideas from the arena of united action and discussion. "Anti-Communism," a principal ideological instrument of U.S. imperialism, is a serious divisive factor on the Left. Individuals with such views are to be found among those co-opted by the ruling class.

2. The reformist outlook which sees reforms as ends in themselves (rooted mainly in Right-wing social democracy and among exponents of "class partnership").

3. Several related tendencies that either deny or minimize the class struggle as the motive force of contemporary history (although some concede its relevance to past history), and consequently deny or minimize the historic role of the working class.

4. Sectarianism, which leads people to act as if subjective desire can overcome the stubbornness of objective reality. Those affected by it think a chosen few can substitute for millions in the process of social change.

5. Ultra-Leftism, which under "Left" banners engages in revolutionary bombast to justify adventurism and anarchism, and on occasion downright provocative actions. Affected by pessimism and frustration, ultra-Leftists abandon the essential task of the Left —to mobilize the masses and engage in common action the social forces needed to bring about fundamental change. Lacking a sense of social responsibility to this essential task, such ultra-Leftists are a divisive and disruptive force. Whatever their subjective desires, they end with positions like those of the ultra-Right.

Despite their diversity, all these tendencies have in our view a common source. Whether Right or "Left," whether they appear in the garb of reformism or of "revolutionary" posturing, all have their roots in the ideological pressures and influences of the ruling class. Oscillations to Right and "Left" reflect the uncertain, wavering position of the middle-class elements in our society. Attracted

to the capitalist class by their own quest for status, economic privilege and comfort, yet increasingly blocked and driven into the working class by the ruthless reign of monopoly, these are prone to moods of accommodation (petty-bourgeois reformism) or moods of rebellion and despair (petty-bourgeois radicalism). Common to both is rejection of the working class as the only revolutionary force capable of transforming capitalist society.

Our attitude as Communists toward those sectors of the Left, new and old, is to seek both unity in action on specific issues and friendly debate on our differences, in which our frank aim is to bring their adherents the scientific socialism of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Most particularly do we Communists seek to promote among all sectors of the radical movement consistent orientation toward the working class, understanding of its historic role, and dedication to the task of working for fulfillment of that role. For it is this understanding that transforms socialism from a vain utopia into a science which provides the basis for winning strategy and tactics.

We are certain that in the course of common action, in coordinated efforts, in the exchange of views and experiences, in the discussion of differences, the basis can be found for ever firmer unity. This, in time, may or may not take the form of organizational unity. But even the existence of different political organizations of the Left is not an insurmountable obstacle to long-range unity, We do not envision a one-party system as a condition for American socialism.

Communism and Religion

A development of vast importance is the rise of new, liberalizing currents in the world of religion. Reacting to the new world relationship of forces, to the urgent imperative of world peace and the achievement of political independence and nationhood by scores of former colonial countries, substantial groups within religious bodies have become increasingly involved in the struggles for peace and freedom, for civil rights and civil liberties, for economic welfare. Many have become increasingly aware of the confliot between the concepts of morality embodied in their religious beliefs and the immorality of the society in which they live. Between these

groups and the forces of conservatism and reaction in the field of religion a sharpening struggle has developed.

Facing the new realities of the need for coexistence with Communists, the doors of the church have been opened to discussion. An unprecedented dialogue has developed between clergy and Communists in many countries. We welcome this search for common ground and mutual understanding, though at the same time we deplore the use of the church in the interests of capitalist reaction, and we reaffirm the following principles:

1. We oppose all attempts to create division and antagonism among the people along religious lines. Accordingly, our Party is made up of believers and non-believers. What unites its ranks is a common social-political outlook.

2. Marxists disagree philosophically with the supernatural foundation of religion. Nevertheless we recognize many positive humanist values in ethical and moral precepts and social doctrines of the several religions—Christian, Jewish, Muslim and others. We salute the increasing attempts of social-minded religious individuals and groups to apply the positive precepts of their faiths to the struggle for a better life on earth.

3. We subscribe to the fundamental tenets of democracy that are deeply imbedded in American tradition (even though more often violated): freedom of conscience (including, of course, the right to atheist convictions as well as religious belief), and separation of church and state.

4. We seek common action with religious groups and organizations—clergy and laymen—for common goals.

5. Full freedom of conscience and public worship will be guaranteed in a socialist United States.

World Relations

We Communists are part of a social movement which is worldwide in scope.

We are part of such a movement because we believe in the principle of working-class solidarity, the closest thing to human brother-

hood possible in a class-divided society. Abraham Lincoln suggested this truth when he said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds."

We believe in the principle of working-class solidarity on department and shop levels. We believe in it on plant and industrial levels. We believe in it on the community and national level. We believe in it on the global level.

An American automobile worker may call an Italian automobile worker brother with the deepest sincerity. He would gag in using that term for a millionaire owner of General Motors. This simple example illustrates a profound truth: there is an essential community in the conditions of existence, in experience, in aspirations, in historic destiny that unites workers of all countries.

This truth was expressed more than a century ago in Marx's ringing call, "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" This call is a thousand times more compelling today, when operations of monopoly capital have become increasingly international in scope. The giant U.S. monopolies employ and exploit labor on all continents of the earth. Copper miners in the Rocky Mountains and copper miners in the Andes confront the same monopoly corporations. So do men on assembly lines in Flint and Detroit and those on assembly lines in Dusseldorf and Dagenham. As a matter of economic self-interest, therefore, American labor must strive for working-class internationalism.

Monopoly capital has made its greedy international objectives the prime goals of official foreign policy. Wrapping its ugly aims in the American flag, it seeks to involve the American people as a whole, including the working class, in aggression against workers of other lands. It wants American workers to provide it with weapons and shed their blood so that it may exploit workers of other countries. This cynical policy brings dishonor and hatred on our country. Only working-class internationalism can redeem our national honor and serve true national interests. Cooperation and soliditarity with labor and progressive forces of other lands is urgently needed to defend peace, to defeat neo-colonialism, to thwart and overcome the reactionary war program of U.S. impe-

rialism. Such common struggle heralds new relations among the world's peoples, based on equality, friendship and cooperation.

Our solidarity with other peoples in their struggles for independence, freedom and social progress helps weaken U.S. imperialism. In turn, it enlists solidarity and support from these peoples for the struggle of Americans to liberate their own land from monopoly capital

In this respect we have special obligations toward the peoples of Vietnam, South Korea, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, Taiwan, Okinawa, Puerto Rico and other countries which U.S. imperialism occupies or seeks to occupy.

In particular, we North Americans have a special relationship to the peoples of Latin America, whose lands have been seized by U.S. monopoly capital as its special private domain. U.S. military forces have been mployed as monopoly's policemen most often and most arrogantly against Latin American peoples. U.S. corporate institutions and U.S. intelligence agencies operate as an invisible government in Latin America. The so-called inter-American system is an elaborate device to maintain U.S. domination throughout the Western hemisphere. We stand for an opposite kind of inter-American system. We stand for common struggle by all peoples of the hemisphere to destroy the domination of U.S. monopoly and thus establish the foundations for friendship and mutually beneficial relations.

With the coming into being of a community of socialist states, working-class internationalism has been raised to a new level. It is evident in the assistance of these states to the developing countries and in their support to the struggles of the working class everywhere, as well as in the mutual cooperation among the socialist states themselves.

Monopoly capital recognizes working-class internationalism as its mortal foe, and therefore trains its heaviest ideological guns against it. To true patriotism, monopoly jingoism opposes a sick national conceit joined with contempt and hatred for other nations. True patriotism is love of country combined with respect and friendship for other peoples.

An insidious aspect of capital's war against working-class inter-

nationalism is its attempt to establish immigration barriers against the free flow of ideas, to incite "know-nothing" prejudices against "alien" ideas. The main target of this drive is Marxism. The assault against Marxism has done great injury to American intellectual life. But in the long run this assault is futile. Marxism, like any great body of human thought, cannot be confined within national boundaries. It is international in origin, international in development. Its sources are directly traceable to German philosophy, to classical English political economy, to French socialism. It matured and developed in the experience and theoretical labors of revolutionaries throughout the world. It is a measure of the scope and vitality of Marxism that in Africa and Asia, in Latin America and Europe, in all continents, in countries of most diverse backgrounds and at the most varied stages of historical development, in movements differing in strength and immediate objectives, revolutionary leaders all find guidance and inspiration in it.

We American Communists, in our unswerving commitment to working-class internationalism, stand for a relationship among the Communist and Workers parties based on a fraternity of equals. We are for consultation among the parties on the basis of mutual respect. We are absolutely against resort to slander, or to factional intervention by any party in the affairs of other parties. We are opposed to any concept of monolithic unity that would press all working-class parties into one mold. We are opposed to a "polycentrism" entailing several leadership centers in the world Communist movement. We are for the complete independence and autonomy of each party. We declare ourselves bound by no decisions except our own. At the same time, we are fully cognizant of our obligation to defend international working-class solidarity and the interests of the world Communist movement, which require the closest relations with our brother parties.

Because we are internationalists, because we look upon the world working-class as one great family, as did Lincoln and Marx, the capitalist class levels its heaviest guns at this concept. It employs its ancient libel of "foreign agent." But growing numbers have come to recognize in this libel Hitler's Big Lie. The international working-class movement grows in strength and power.

AN INVITATION

If you agree with our Program we invite you to join us.

To those who agree with our Program on some significant points and disagree on others, we say: We are ready to cooperate with you in the attainment of common objectives, even as we conduct a reasoned dialogue on points of difference. We are willing to be judged, as we will judge you, by the sincerity and effectiveness of our effort in the common endeavors. As to differences, some will be resolved by argument, others by historical experience. We are open to persuasion on both counts. We hope you are, too.

As for the program itself, we ask no more than that it be discussed and judged on its merits.

For more information write to

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